

The Outlook

MARCH 29, 1916

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THE STORY OF THE WAR: TIRPITZ AND GALLIENI

Not the least important war news of the week ending March 22 related to men rather than to fighting. The resignation of Grand Admiral von Tirpitz as German Minister of Marine and the appointment in his place of Admiral Eduard von Capelle (a portrait of whom appears in this issue of *The Outlook*) have produced a vast amount of discussion. No one, despite Tirpitz's age, seems to take seriously the phrase "because of ill health," and the explanations range from the somewhat improbable theory that the Admiral is overwhelmed with remorse for the deaths caused by his ruthless submarine policy to reasons purely political. The debates in the Reichstag on submarine war are taken by many observers to indicate a clash in policy between Tirpitz and the Imperial Chancellor, Bethmann Hollweg, and the support by the Government of the latter's more moderate attitude. Yet a large number of both Liberal and Conservative members united in urging continuance and enforcement of the outrageous policy of submarine attack without warning on all armed merchant ships.

Another resignation of prime importance was that of General Gallieni, French Minister of War since October of last year. He is succeeded by General Charles Roques. Here there is no doubt that ill health was the primary cause, nor can there be any doubt of the value and importance of General Gallieni's past services to France.

Still another personal news item of interest is the return to Constantinople of Enver Pasha, the Turkish Minister of War, from a journey in Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. Reports of Enver Pasha's assassination had been repeated so often that they had come to be widely believed.

Finally, we may add a recent personal utterance in the French Chamber of Deputies by M. Ribot, the Minister of Finance: "We have reached the decisive hour. We can say without exaggeration, without illusion, and

without vain optimism that we now see the end of this horrible war."

LIEBKNECHT IN THE GERMAN REICHSTAG

A third-hand report of a recent occurrence in the Reichstag contains a statement attributed to Dr. Karl Liebknecht which is of unusual interest. In a despatch from Amsterdam (sent to this country via London) it is said that the "*Kölnische Zeitung*" publishes a speech made by Dr. Liebknecht on the educational budget. Dr. Liebknecht is reported as saying:

Education to-day serves to strengthen militarism and capitalism. You act as if you wished to throw open to the people the road to education, but that is only because capitalism requires soldiers. The teaching of history is systematically distorted for the purpose of introducing certain political convictions into the schools and also hatred against England. The militarizing of schools converts them into training stables for war. You educate your children to be war machines. With regard to war, their ideals seem to be embodied in poisoned gas bombs. In the schools should be taught not only that the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria at Sarajevo was an incident which should inspire horror, but it should also be taught that there were wide circles in Germany and Austria in which this murder was regarded as a veritable godsend.

Just as in the Thirty Years' War, so the present war has a demoralizing and baneful effect on education. As long as our educational ideal centers in a death struggle the liberation of the working classes cannot come.

The workers themselves must tackle the job of education. The troops must not fight merely in the trenches; they ought to lower their arms and direct them against the common enemy.

During this speech Dr. Liebknecht is reported to have been repeatedly interrupted, a statement which is not surprising. That such views as are expressed in this reported speech are held by Dr. Liebknecht we have not the least doubt. We may be permitted to

doubt, however, the probability of their having been voiced so directly in the Reichstag.

Confirmation of our opinion of Dr. Liebknecht's views can be found in the interview with Dr. Liebknecht which The Outlook published in its issue of January 26. Our view of his attitude is further confirmed by information which we have received from an American university professor of high standing who has seen Dr. Liebknecht since the outbreak of the great war. In the course of a conversation Dr. Liebknecht explained the danger of making any remonstrance against the aggressive spirit of Prussianism. Dr. Liebknecht said that the position which he had taken in opposition to Germany's action had put him in personal danger, so much so that it was not beyond the bounds of possibility that he might at any time disappear and never be heard of again. As he said this he significantly drew his hand across his neck, and then added that the fortunes of an individual were of no consequence.

ON THE FIGHTING LINES

An entire month had passed (up to March 22) since the German attack upon Verdun began. Only one of the twenty-five or more fortified positions around Verdun had been taken by the Germans, namely, Douaumont. Attack after attack on Fort Vaux, near by, had failed. Gains had been made by the Germans, although obviously with great loss, to the east and northwest of Verdun, but nowhere as we write has the main line of defense been broken or even seriously driven back. The attack on Malancourt and Avo-court, on the west bank of the Meuse, yielded valuable but not decisive strategic gains to the Germans, who claim to have made in this battle 2,500 prisoners. The fighting for the last two weeks waged fiercely around the hill (or group of hills) known as Dead Man's Hill, and here also the Germans at this writing seem to have gained the ascendancy. The situation at Verdun on March 22 is concisely and fairly summarized as follows by the New York "Tribune" of that date:

Taken as a whole, the German offensive at Verdun has yielded nothing at all comparable with the effort made. The ground taken is of no special value. The forts of Verdun have been dismantled. They no longer serve as traps for their defenders. Verdun itself could be laid in ashes without affecting in the least the military situation on the Meuse front. So long as the French lines hold, every gain in

territory merely calls for another effort and another sacrifice on the part of the attacking armies.

Turning eastward, we find Russia's new offensives becoming more violent and active, one object doubtless being to prevent German and Austrian forces from going westward to aid the Verdun attack. On the battle-line east of Dwinsk valuable Russian successes are reported on March 22. Near Riga there has been fierce fighting without decisive results. On the Bukowina border the Russians have driven the Austrians back and after a fierce fight and heavy losses on both sides seized an important bridge-head at the Dniester River which for six months has been held by the Austrians against repeated attacks. The abandonment by the Austrians of Czernowitz, the capital of Bukowina, is probable, and is reported as a fact from Rome, but not confirmed as we write. In the Black Sea region the Russians have resumed their advance toward Sivas.

An unexampled air battle was fought on March 18 between squadrons of French and German aeroplanes—forty or more in all—in the Upper Alsace region. The French attacked Muelhausen with bombs, the German aviators rose in defense, and an air conflict resulted in which the squadrons lost about equally. A day or two later an even larger French and British air squadron attacked Zeebrugge, on the Belgian coast, a great sea-plane and submarine station. The reports say that sixty aeroplanes, each carrying two hundred pounds of explosives, took part, and that considerable damage was done.

Holland is justly disturbed over the destruction of the Tubantia and the attack on the Palembang, both large Dutch passenger steamships. The latter was unquestionably attacked by a submarine, but escaped uninjured. The former was destroyed, and her officers believe it was by a submarine. Even if it were by a mine, the outrage on neutral shipping is flagrant. Both the German and British authorities disavow the act. The Dutch Government protests vigorously against the reckless and wicked invasion of neutral rights, and, it is reported, will ask the United States as a great neutral nation to join Holland in acting for the protection of neutrals on the high seas.

THE PURSUIT OF VILLA

The American force under the direct command of General Pershing, which shortly

after noon on March 15 marched south across the border from Columbus, a week later was perhaps a hundred and fifty miles almost directly south of the point of entrance. After occupying the town of Casas Grandes, where there is a large American Mormon colony, for the safety of which fears had been entertained, our forces, hitherto advancing in two columns, were divided into three divisions, which advanced severally upon three towns—Carmen, El Valle, and Babri-cora—situated nearly, but not quite, on a line running east and west, with a distance of perhaps twenty-five miles between each two places.

This disposition of our forces was evidently to prevent Villa from making a rapid turn around our army and escaping to the northward into the mountains. Meanwhile Carranza's troops were advancing from the south, and on March 21 it was reported that Villa's bandits, thus barred from movement northward and southward, had been forced into an engagement with Carranza's force at, or near, the town of Namiquba. The exact result of this engagement is not known in detail as we write, but it is believed that Villa was repulsed, and it is probable that he escaped by turning to the westward and taking refuge in the Sierra Madre Mountains, every pass and hill of which is to him familiar ground. This is exactly what was to be expected from the first. The Sierra Madre Mountains run in a nearly north-and-south direction along a line from New Mexico to far south of Namiquba. The trapping and capture of Villa in the mountains (or on the Sonora side of them in a region where there are no railways and few highways) present serious and increasing difficulties.

Meanwhile, General Funston, who is in command of the entire situation on the border, has telegraphed from San Antonio, Texas, to the War Department asking for reinforcements—how many is not known; but he is reported to have used the words, "a fairly large force." In response, a regiment of cavalry, the squadrons of which were widely scattered in different parts of the country, has been ordered to concentrate and to come under General Funston's command. Other bodies of regulars are expected to follow, and meanwhile recruiting is going on rapidly under the recent action of Congress to fill the present army organization up to its limit. That a short and quick rush into

Mexico and the resulting capture of Villa are feasible seems daily less reasonable.

So far, everything seems to indicate that there is at least outward harmony between the United States and the Carranza Government in regard to the entrance of our troops into Mexico and the campaign against Villa. A joint protocol is, as we write, under negotiation between Mexico and the United States which will arrange details of the conduct of both parties. One important request by our Government included in this protocol is for the use of the railway which runs from Juarez to the country in which our troops are operating, for the carrying, not of troops, but of supplies and munitions. This is almost a necessity for our troops, especially as they get farther away from their base; and there should be no reluctance on the part of Carranza to grant it. At present an elaborate system of motor-truck conveyance is in use for supply purposes; but as our troops go farther and as reinforcements are sent railway supply service is essential.

Another point to be adjusted in this protocol is the question of the occupation of towns by our troops. It is understood that this is to be avoided unless necessary, and it is hoped that a plan can be devised which will not cause friction between Americans and Mexicans. Our principal base of supplies is now at Columbus, and from that town are being forwarded, so correspondents write, enormous quantities of ammunition by a steady stream of automobiles, motor trucks, and wagons. This method of conveyance will give way to mule and burro trains as our troops reach the mountain regions.

There have been many rumors of attack on Americans by Mexican sympathizers with Villa, but there is no evidence of any large movements of this kind. The anti-American feeling seems to be strongest in the neighborhood of Tampico, whence it was reported on March 21 that the immensely valuable oil-fields near that town were in the hands of Villistas.

On March 23 the War Department announced that General Herrera, ex-Governor of Chihuahua, and formerly a Villa supporter, has revolted from Carranza and has joined Villa in war against the United States; there are also rumors that the garrison at Juarez (2,000 men) are in revolt against Carranza. Of course any large desertion of men from Carranza to Villa would constitute a menace to the American line of

communications, and therefore a peril to the American troops.

JAPAN REPUDIATES DUAL ALLEGIANCE

Good will on the part of Japan toward the United States is strongly indicated by the passage of a law through the Japanese Diet which will enable people of Japanese parentage born in America to become released from allegiance to Japan. An account of this measure is given in the "Japanese-American Commercial Weekly" for March 11, and it is from that paper, published in New York, that we get the information which we here summarize. According to that weekly, this measure is an amendment to the existing law of nationality, and will become effective when it is sanctioned by Imperial ordinance. In brief, it may be said to yield to the sovereignty of America natives of America who up to this time have been claimed as subjects of Japan, just as other natives of America are claimed as subjects or citizens of other nations. It provides a method for doing away, so far as Japan and the United States are concerned, with a large part, if not all, of the evil known as "dual allegiance."

Japan's reported action is in strong contrast with that of Germany. Not only does Germany claim as a German subject the child of German subjects, wherever he may be born, but, by a law which was passed in July, 1913, it legally encourages Germans who go into other parts of the world to retain allegiance to Germany while going through the form of offering their allegiance to another nation. Such people are, of course, the real and conscious and deliberate "hyphenates." These are the people who not only willingly but purposely undertake to serve two masters.

This is the German way of dealing with this question of dual allegiance. The Japanese way is exactly the opposite. Japan already by law provides that when a Japanese subject becomes naturalized in a foreign country he may become expatriated. Now Japan by this new measure, which will, it is expected, soon become law, provides, further, that the child who is born of Japanese parents in a foreign country and remaining permanently there may have his repudiation of allegiance to Japan formally recognized by the Japanese Government by obtaining the permission of the Minister of the Interior. This law provides that this may be done with children under fifteen years of age through a legal

representative. It also provides that those who have expatriated themselves may repatriate themselves by obtaining permission through the same procedure.

The neighborliness of this action may be made clear, perhaps, by stating it in terms of, for example, France and the United States. A child born of American parents in France is by French law a Frenchman and by American law an American. Similarly, a child born of French parents in the United States is by French law a Frenchman, but by American law is an American citizen and eligible for the Presidency of the United States. In each case, therefore, of the American baby born in France and of the French baby born in America there is the claim of double allegiance. Both countries claim both children. The neighborly thing to do, of course, is for each country of its own volition to provide a way by which the child born in the foreign country may become, if he remains there, a citizen of that country without any obligation toward the country of his parents. Germany has not only failed to do that, but has encouraged double allegiance in those who do not even have the excuse of being born in a foreign country, but emigrate to it; while Japan discourages by its new measure this double allegiance of those who are born of Japanese subjects. Japan's action, if it is correctly reported, is distinctly that of a good neighbor.

THE HAY ARMY BILL

By the middle of last week the House Army Bill (called the Hay Bill, from the name of the Chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs) was well on its way toward passage through the House of Representatives. The original details of this bill are of no public interest except as some of them are pernicious. One good feature, for years opposed by Mr. Hay, has been added to the bill by a provision for a short term service with the colors, thus increasing the number of trained soldiers available for the reserve.

There are, however, only three matters of prime importance on which the attention of the public should be, or very well can be, directed with reference to the reorganization of our military establishment: first, the enlargement of the regular army to a size sufficient to enable it to meet emergencies; second, the institution of a system of universal military training and service; third, the establishment of a

Council of National Defense. None of these things is done or even undertaken by the Hay Bill. The provision for the regular army is absurdly inadequate. It does not meet the needs as set forth by military experts. It is a makeshift. The total number which it would ultimately add to the force of the regular army equals the estimated average number of German casualties for less than nine days.

The worst part of the Hay Bill, however, is not in its failure to provide for the Nation needed means of defense, but in the positive harm that it will do to National defense if its provisions are adopted. By providing payment for the men, and especially the officers, of the State militia organizations it proposes to do two wrongs to the country. First, it helps to fasten upon the country more securely than ever a military system which has always failed and always must fail, and thus will give new sanction and power and political prestige to forty-eight little armies which cannot, by their very nature, be unified into one effective National force. And, in the second place, it does this by buying patriotism. The men whom this bill proposes to pay are not professional soldiers, but are supposed to be civilians trained for military duty. Such civilians should (and most of them do) count their military duty as a part of their civic obligation. Instead of that, this bill approaches it as if it were a commodity. It places National defense on the basis of a commercial contract. If enacted, the bill would commit the country to a repudiation of the essence of democratic principles in National defense.

It would be better to have no army bill passed at all than to have the Congress of the United States adopt such a bill as that proposed by Mr. Hay and his Committee.

MR. BRANDEIS, HARVARD, AND ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Our readers know by this time that we hope that the nomination of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis as a Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States will be confirmed by the Senate. They also know that this hope is not shared by some citizens of National distinction. For example, a group of Boston lawyers signed and sent to the Senate Committee which is considering the appointment a remonstrance. Among those who signed this Boston protest was President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard University. That

President Lowell should have taken this part in the "Brandeis controversy" has aroused a good deal of interest throughout the country, and has excited a lively discussion among Harvard alumni—a discussion of such moment that a recent issue of the "Harvard Alumni Bulletin" contains both an editorial on the episode and a letter from President Lowell explaining his position.

The "Bulletin's" editorial points out that Mr. Brandeis has had a very unusual and prominent relation with Harvard University, of which he is a graduate in the Department of Law, and from which he received the honorary degree of Master of Arts at the hands of President Eliot. He has received an honorary election to membership in the Harvard Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa, has been secretary of the Harvard Law School Alumni Association, and has been for many years a member of the Committee officially appointed by the Board of Overseers to inspect the Law School. "Few members of his profession," says the "Bulletin," "have received more signal recognition from the University."

The "Bulletin" goes on to say that it regards President Lowell's protest against the nomination of Mr. Brandeis as a mistake of judgment. But it adds:

It is far better for the President of Harvard sometimes to make a mistake than always to stand aloof and refrain from using his entire influence in public matters of vital import. The freedom of speech and action which have always belonged to the Harvard Faculty should pre-eminently be his also.

With this sentiment The Outlook heartily concurs, as it does also in the general principles laid down by President Lowell in his letter to the "Bulletin." He says rightly that "the University as such can have no opinion on public questions, but each and every member is free to state his personal views according to his conscience." He admits that when the president of a university speaks there is danger that a popular impression shall be created that he speaks for the university as a whole. Against this popular error he protests: "From that freedom"—that is to say, the freedom of a university teacher to state his personal views according to his conscience—"the president ought not, I think, to be wholly cut off." And President Lowell concludes:

He may be mistaken. He may unconsciously be prejudiced, or he may be opposing prejudice.

He may differ in opinion from many people whose judgment he respects. His views may be unpopular; but it is not only opinions which are popular that it is right to express.

We have seen no better statement than that which the "Harvard Bulletin" and President Lowell make of the true principle of academic freedom in a democracy. While we do not share President Lowell's views regarding Mr. Brandeis, we are very glad that he made his protest to the Senate, if for no other reason than because it has given occasion for a fine and broad example of academic freedom, upon a clear and convincing statement of the principles which underlie that freedom.

SENATOR TAGGART, OF INDIANA

Thomas Taggart, for many years head of the Democratic machine in Indiana, has been appointed United States Senator by Governor Ralston. The occasion of his appointment was the occurrence of a vacancy through the death of Senator Shively. When such a vacancy occurs, the Governor has authority to fill the vacancy by appointment—the appointee to hold office until his successor can be elected.

Few men have been so powerful in the Democratic party as Taggart. He is a member of the Democratic National Committee, and as Chairman of that Committee in 1904 managed the Parker campaign. He has almost invariably had his way in directing party affairs in his State, and has been successful in the party's National counsels. His methods have been those of the genial handshaker. If he has any convictions on great National questions, they are not generally known. He has been three times Mayor of Indianapolis; but, aside from that and from holding the office of auditor in Marion County for two terms, he has wielded his power not as a public official but as a party manager. His name has been in the newspapers in connection with his headship of the company which conducts the French Lick Springs Hotel and resort, and with the indictment which was brought against him, and later dropped for lack of evidence, in connection with the alleged Indianapolis election frauds. With all due allowance for the bitterness of politics in Indiana, there can be no doubt that Taggart has represented a discreditable type of politics.

With Charles F. Murphy, of New York,

the Tammany leader, and Roger Sullivan, of Illinois, Thomas Taggart was conspicuous in the Baltimore Convention in 1912. These three men, outwardly representing the opposite type of politician to that of Woodrow Wilson, skillfully managed to make it evident that the Wilson nomination depended upon their support; they proved that they held the balance of power in that Convention, and that they thus were entitled to the spoils of the party, whoever was nominated.

When, in the fall following that Convention, the Democratic party was successful, The Outlook pointed out that the election meant the strengthening of the power of the bosses. The course of events since then has verified that statement. The nomination of Mr. Taggart to the Senate is but one illustration of the hold which machine oligarchy has upon the party.

Whenever the people of Indiana want a different kind of Senator to represent their State they can have their way. The responsibility rests upon them. It is, in the last analysis, the people of that State who must decide whether they want as their representative a man of the type of Oliver Perry Morton, Indiana's great war Governor, or a man of the type of Thomas Taggart.

LIQUOR LEGISLATION IN NEW YORK

We had not supposed that a measure of any kind could be so drawn that it would appeal equally to suffragists and anti-suffragists and to all shades and degrees of temperance advocates. Apparently, however, this has been accomplished by the Anti-Saloon League in New York State. Recently The Outlook reported and commended the excellent Optional Prohibition Referendum Bill which that organization had introduced in the New York State Assembly. With the thought that perhaps this bill might be killed and thus delay all temperance legislation for another year, the Anti-Saloon League has now introduced in the New York State Senate an Optional Prohibition Remonstrance Bill identical in all respects with the Optional Prohibition Referendum Bill, except that it gives the women of the State a voice in the control of the liquor question. And it does so without raising the question of a Constitutional amendment, by providing for a remonstrance petition instead of a vote at an election.

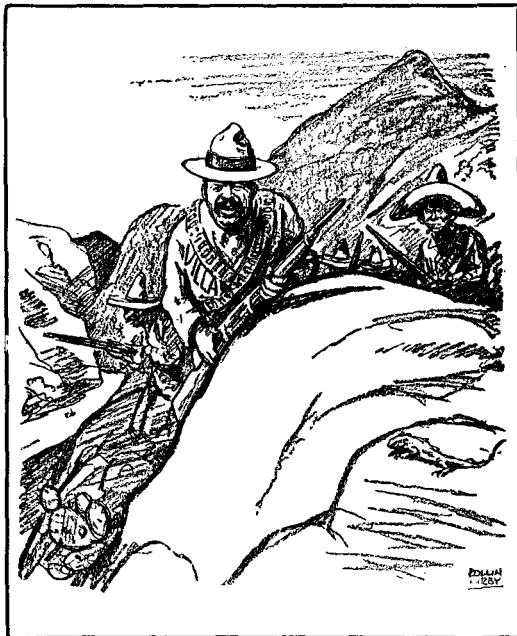
The new bill provides for the registration (by the regular registry officials, but not on

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

Carter in the New York Evening Sun

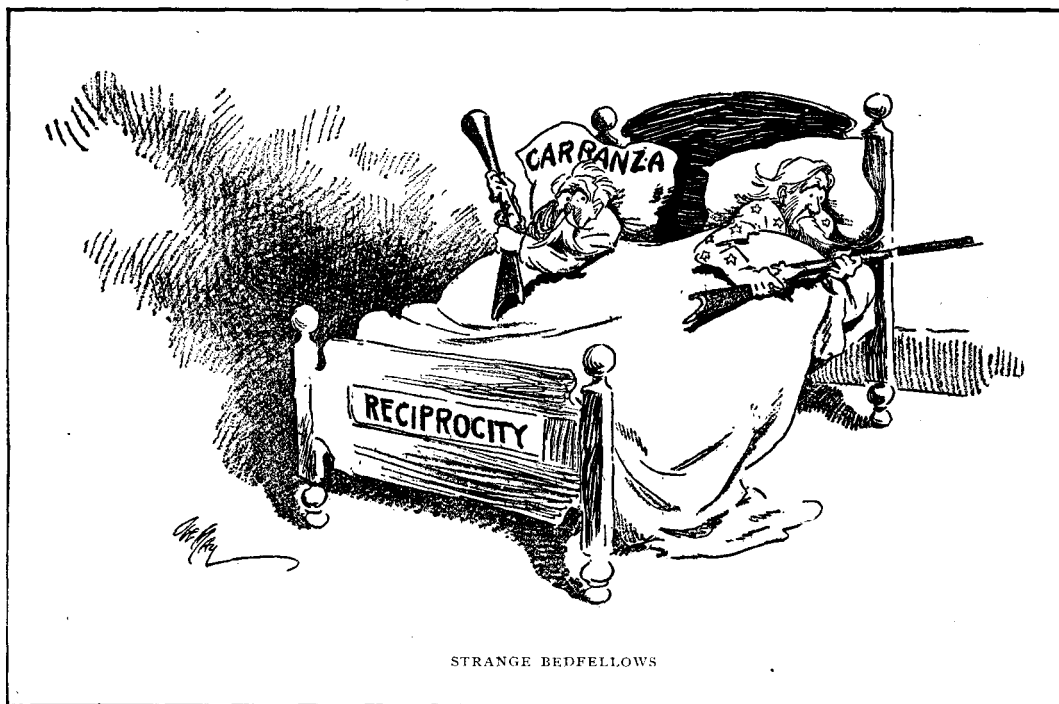


Kirby in the New York World



"WATCHFUL WAITING" ABANDONED IN THE UNITED STATES AND ADOPTED IN MEXICO

May in the Cleveland Leader

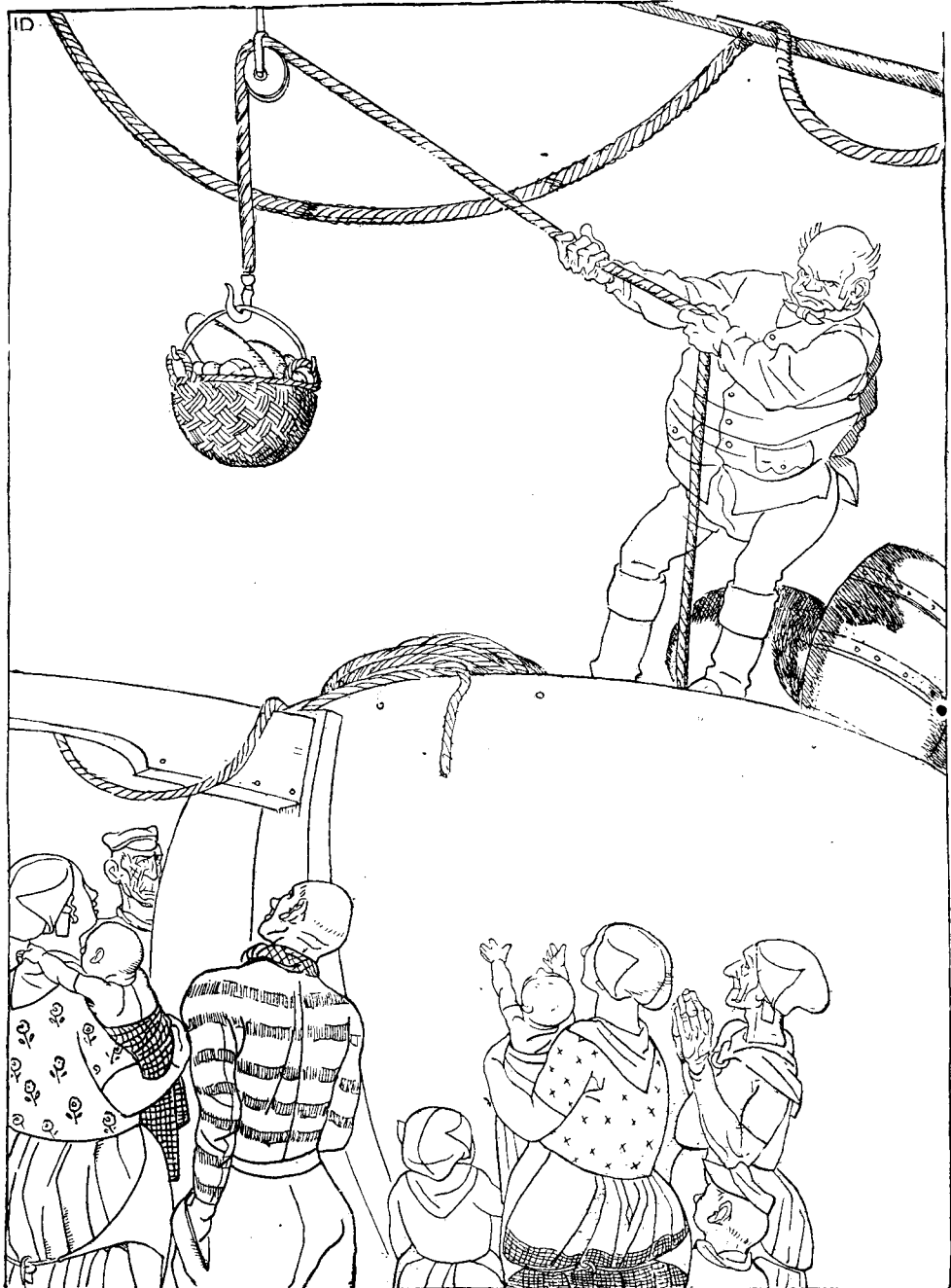


STRANGE BEDFELLOWS

UNCLE SAM AND CARRANZA GET TOGETHER AT LAST!

CARTOONS OF THE WEEK

From Jugend (Munich) (c)



ENGLAND AND THE NEUTRALS

"What an unheard-of thing! He is pulling the bread-basket still higher! We must do something!"

"Yes! We might send him an address assuring him of our undying loyalty!"

GERMANY THINKS THE NEUTRALS ARE BEING HOODWINKED BY
GREAT BRITAIN, WHOSE GAME IS TO RAISE PRICES

the days on which men are registered) as liquor remonstrants of all women who in the matter of age, citizenship, and residence comply with the requirements prescribed for male electors.

The measure provides that upon the filing with the proper court of a remonstrance petition, signed by not less than fifty-one per cent of the registered electors and registered liquor remonstrants combined, the court shall fix a day for hearing objections to the remonstrance and the signatures; and if the court shall find the petition valid, the political division covered by the remonstrance shall, with the expiration of the license year, become prohibition territory for two years and thereafter until reversed by a petition of similar form.

This ingenious proposition for a remonstrance petition really may be said to have had its germ in the present liquor law, a law which, to put it mildly, can hardly be said to be drawn in the interests of temperance reform. The present excise law provides that when the nearest entrance to a saloon lies within three hundred feet of the entrance to any building occupied exclusively as a dwelling, there must be filed with the application for the license a written consent executed by the owners of at least two-thirds of the total number of buildings within the prescribed distance which are occupied as dwellings.

From this consent proviso women property-owners are, of course, not excluded. If they can give the consent for the creation of a saloon, why can they not give an inverted consent for its abolition? The provisions of this new bill in regard to separate registration days and the filing of a petition which eliminates the necessity of attendance at the polling-booth give to anti-suffragists an opportunity to express their opinion upon a subject which most of them would doubtless choose as the one public question upon which they would most like to be heard.

This bill ought to have behind it the full force of the temperance sentiment of the State. The Outlook would like to see the bill tried out in practice.

BETTER THAN ACQUITTAL

Thomas Mott Osborne, the public-spirited Warden of Sing Sing, who has been haled into court by those who for one reason or another wished to discredit his efforts for prison reform, has made great progress toward vindication. The charge of perjury against him, on which he was brought to trial

and willingly faced a jury, has been dismissed. The dismissal occurred under circumstances which make it even more of a vindication than acquittal would have been. The charge was, in substance, that Mr. Osborne, in order to conceal the fact of immorality in Sing Sing Prison, perjured himself in making false statements to a member of the Prison Commission. After the Commissioner in question, Dr. Diedling, had given his testimony, the Judge ruled that this Commissioner had no legal right to make an investigation or to demand answers to his inquiries, and that, moreover, Mr. Osborne's "refusal to answer and his evasive replies were to make good the promise he had made to the men" that, since they had confessed and had been punished, "he would go to jail sooner than betray their confidences." On the stand Dr. Diedling, who has been persistently inimical to Mr. Osborne, discredited himself as a witness. For example, in answer to the question as to whether he was discharged from the service of a life insurance company for his part in a plot to fleece insurance companies, Dr. Diedling only replied: "I don't know. I gave up all my life insurance." He testified also that he had indorsed an alleged violet-ray machine for curing rheumatism, on the ground that "it eliminates the harshness of treatment found in others," before he had tried it himself on a single patient. Dr. Diedling's testimony aroused laughter in the courtroom. Judge Tompkins, in dismissing the indictment, made emphatic his statement that the dismissal was not on a technicality.

"To make out the crime of perjury," said Judge Tompkins, "it must appear that false testimony was knowingly and willfully given by the defendant, under oath, concerning material matter under investigation in a judicial or other proceeding authorized by law. Two of these elements are lacking in this case. The jury would not be justified in finding a willful intent or purpose on the part of the defendant. There is no proof here that Dr. Diedling was authorized by law to conduct this investigation or administer an oath."

This first case, therefore, against Mr. Osborne ends with the chief witness discredited and the whole case thrown out of court, as not having enough substance of law or fact in it for submission to the verdict of a jury.

The cause of prison reform for which Mr. Osborne has stood ought not to be bound up in his personal fortunes; but there is no doubt whatever that a personal triumph

similar to this in the other cases that may be brought against him will remove one of the greatest obstacles which the enemies of prison reform have attempted to put in its way. The sacrifice which Mr. Osborne has been required to make in holding to his convictions and in keeping his faith with men who have trusted him will, we hope, impress upon the people of the State the seriousness of the prison problem, the strength of the forces opposed to progress, and the vital importance of putting our whole prison system on a new, a wiser, and a more humane basis.

THE CLASS IN HISTORY

Should college students be able to name the Sultan of Turkey, the capital of Serbia, and the location of Gallipoli? Should they distinguish the portfolio of Sir Edward Grey from that of Lloyd George, and should they be able to give the Kaiser's title correctly?

Since the first of the year these and similar doubts have disturbed the academic inertia of history students and teachers in many a college class-room. At New York University and Bowdoin College the professors of history have put to their students a series of test questions designed to reveal familiarity with current events. They wished to discover how well their classes read the daily news in its relation to the great war. The boys responded with an average grade of barely fifty-eight per cent. Later sixteen of the members of the Civics Club at Radcliffe undertook the experiment, and flunked so seriously that a course in intensive study of current events has been considered for the college curriculum.

Aroused by these discoveries, Barnard College at Columbia awoke to its opportunity. Thirty-two young women who made up a class in general European history met the questionnaire in battle and came forth victorious with a gallant average of seventy-five per cent.

Even at that some of the answers were remarkable. One young woman described Gallipoli as being "on the peninsula where Turkey is;" two could not recall the name of the Prime Minister of England; another wrote down the President of France as "Point-caret;" few could correctly bound Serbia; Alfonso was respectively the King of Italy and of Greece. At Radcliffe only two out of sixteen knew who Secretary Lansing was, and they were all at sea over Sir Ian Hamilton. The Kaiser's title was de-

clared to be anything from the First to the Seventh Wilhelm, while the capital of Serbia was given as Budapest as often as Belgrade.

Lack of interest in current events is a sad commentary on the mental processes of students of history, but it may well be that the blame lies not so much with them as with their teachers. So long as history is taught as a sort of monkish tale, stripped of all relation to modern life, it remains an exotic growth, a cultural ornament to all but the collector of culture. That is why the technical and industrial colleges cut it to a minimum in their curricula. They would scoff at the term "laboratory method" of teaching history which is now coming to the front in our largest universities. This "laboratory method" can best be explained by some concrete example such as the Irish Home Rule Bill. Students are asked to describe the bill as it was reported in the current news, then by individual research and reading to show the causes and economic conditions which led to its introduction, its many defeats, and its final victory.

The test to which students of the different universities were put was hardly fair. It was drawn on mistaken lines, with a view to ensnare rather than inform. Granted that many of the answers showed lamentable ignorance of current events, they evidenced neither for nor against acquaintance with the causes which led to the present conflict. No one cares and few can tell who is the present Sultan of Turkey, but to answer such a question as why the Allies' diplomacy failed at Constantinople would reveal familiarity with such antecedent history as the Crimean War. It would require a knowledge of economic and industrial conditions to explain the main causes, apart from the immediate incident, of the friction between Serbia and Hungary. These two countries have always been economic antagonists. But such a point would probably never occur to the average student of history unless he were encouraged to discover the relation of modern life to past events.

WAR AND THE LABOR MARKET

Has your household servant suddenly given notice that she prefers packing cartridges to wiping dishes because it is more profitable and the hours are shorter? This has been the experience of some American housewives. The war has upset the American labor market.

The shortage of labor of certain kinds is

almost unprecedented. The services of machinists who can perform the refined type of operations called for in connection with certain details in shell-making are bid for as if they were shares in a gushing oil well or a newly discovered Eldorado. Many manufacturers of non-military articles have lost many of their best men to the manufacturers of war munitions who can afford to pay a very high price for labor. One prominent manufacturer told a representative of *The Outlook* that he had discovered that some of his machinists were under contract to a war munitions company to go to work as soon as the plant was ready. They were receiving the difference between the wages they were being paid and five dollars a day, the amount they were to receive from the munitions company when the work began.

Mr. C. L. Green, Chief Inspector of the Federal Bureau of Information, which regulates the distribution of certain kinds of labor, said to *The Outlook's* representative, "Any man who has had sufficient training as a machinist to read a blue print and use a micrometer can get fifty cents an hour even if under normal conditions he is worth only twenty-five cents."

The unskilled labor required in subway construction and other types of rough, heavy work is also at a premium. Some contractors are hesitating to bid on new work owing to the uncertainty of the labor supply. At the office of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company, for instance, a representative of *The Outlook* learned that wages for this type of labor had risen in the course of the last few months from \$1.60 to \$2 a day.

After the war will labor be fully employed? If not, will it be satisfied with lower wages, longer hours? Immigration is an important factor that must not be overlooked. With the possible exception of one year, immigration has not been so low within three-quarters of a century as during 1915. There is a possibility that the demand for labor to reconstruct war-damaged Europe will put wages so high that there will be an exodus of workers from this country. But there seems to be an even more likely possibility that the peoples of Europe who have most suffered from the war, like the Serbs and the Russian Jews, will stampede to America. No one can prophesy with any certainty what will happen. But now, while we have little immigration, is a good time to get ready for all eventualities.

MEXICO—OUR DUTY

For three years we have been drifting into more and more serious trouble in Mexico. What has occurred and what is occurring to-day is what any one with his eyes open to the facts could have foreseen, what many did foresee. Nothing is a surer invitation to disaster than the shirking of responsibility. Nothing brings trouble more certainly than an attempt at all costs to avoid it. American forces, for the second time during the term of this Administration, are in Mexico. It is of the utmost importance that our people should try to think clearly about the situation, and to define for themselves the Nation's ultimate purpose.

In order to further this end, we here state what it seems to us the Nation's purpose ought to be.

Our operations in Mexico should not be in the nature of war upon the Mexican nation or the Mexican people. We have no quarrel with Mexico as a nation. Our quarrel is with the spirit of anarchy and misrule which has been dominant there, and with which we, as a people, can never be at peace. Lincoln's statement that a nation cannot survive half slave and half free states a principle that is applicable here. Democracy cannot survive in territory which is half orderly and half anarchic. Anarchy is a contagious disease from which we must protect our people as well as those of other nationalities for whom we are responsible.

Our operations in Mexico ought not to be what they have been called—a mere "punitive expedition." It was a futile and wrong thing for the United States to engage in war against the man Huerta. It would be equally futile and wrong for us as a Nation to engage in war against another man—Villa. The death of Huerta did not end the Mexican problem. The capture of Villa would not end it.

Our operations ought to be carried on with a view to ultimate police occupation in behalf of order. They ought not to deal with symptoms, but with causes. We have put our hand to this task; and we ought now to see that it is a task worthy of the Nation that undertakes it. It is a task like that which called us into Cuba and into the Philippines. It is a task for laying the foundations on which something like civilization and self-government can be built.

This task is one for the professional soldier,

not for the volunteer. For the repelling of invasion or for general military operations volunteers, when trained, have proved and can prove useful; but police work requires businesslike attention to detail, and for this we should depend upon the regular soldier, who approaches his task in a matter-of-fact way, as the policeman and the fireman attend to their duties.

For such a task the process must necessarily be slow. If the task is undertaken wisely and deliberately, as well as firmly, a small force can be efficient. The method to be adopted in that case will have to be a gradual, firm occupation of strategic points, with the determination to win the approval and the welcome of the people at those points. At present a large proportion of Mexicans are willing to give to such a man as Villa aid and comfort, partly because they have no protection against him if they deny him his demands, and partly because they regard him as a sort of Robin Hood. The mere capture of Villa will not prevent another bandit from taking his place, and will, if not supplemented by other action, be likely rather to enhance Villa's reputation as a Robin Hood. What the people of Mexico need, first of all, is protection against brigandage, and, second, such beneficent protection by orderly processes as to enable them to see, through their own experience, that the real friend of the peon and the poor is not a brigand hero like Villa, but an orderly government.

To this end it is essential that this policing be done as far as possible by Mexicans themselves, and that the army of the United States should be used for direct policing only as may be unavoidable—chiefly for the training and direction of a Mexican constabulary.

This is the task that lies before our country. If the present Administration has finally determined not to undertake this task now, it will simply have on its records another Vera Cruz expedition, and some other Administration will have to undertake the task which this one would avoid.

THE LUSITANIA

On May 7, which is a Sunday this year, will occur the anniversary of the sinking of the Lusitania. That day ought not to go by without a Nation-wide observance: to serve, first, as a memorial to those whose lives were sacrificed; and, second, as a reminder of our National duty.

HOW NOT TO READ SHAKESPEARE

It has been observed that the ancients had at least one advantage which we moderns do not possess. Their gods were generally human and companionable souls. It is quite otherwise with us, for we even deny the qualities of human kind to our own flesh-and-blood divinities. We turn them either into angels or devils—stupid angels or mechanical devils. It may be that "single men in barracks don't grow into plaster saints;" but plaster is at least a very important element in whatever measure of fame we accord to the saints of history and literature.

Probably Washington has furnished the best illustration of the art of petrification in American history. And Shakespeare has furnished a no less striking example in the world of literature. Between the deadly comments on Washington by the Rev. Mr. Weems and the equally deadly comments of the average Herr Doktor upon the works of Shakespeare there is not much to choose.

It is no fault of Shakespeare that he has become a "classic" and a perilously forbidding tradition. If there was ever another poet who wrote more like a human being and less like the stuff of which pedantic theses are made, he has successfully concealed himself in that choir of mute inglorious Miltons which slumbers so soundly in the graveyards of the world.

Too often the average child is led to Shakespeare with the injunction that he is being brought into the presence of the inner shrine of Art, and the text of Shakespeare's plays is laid before him as the ritual of a new and mysterious religion. As a special concession to human frailty, with bated breath he may be told of that deer-stealing episode in the park of Sir Thomas Lucy, or the fact that Shakespeare once held horses for his betters outside a London theater. He is lucky indeed if this information is not coupled with moral precepts concerning the iniquity of theft and pious advice about admirable young men who are not too proud to begin at the bottom and work their way up in their chosen professions.

When our average child has grown a little older, if he persists in his education, he may make the acquaintance of a host of commentators on Shakespeare, from whom he learns a long list of carefully credited discoveries concerning the sources, disputed and otherwise, of Shakespeare's plays. He is told at length of readings over which the

greatest authorities have quarreled; he troubles his brain over the epoch-making question as to whether it was a pole-axe or Polucks that Hamlet's father, "in an angry parle," smote upon the ice; and if he reads German he may be led into a lengthy controversy as to whether or not Duncan's horses in "Macbeth" are refused entrance upon the stage because such an appearance would be unbecoming to a place dedicated to the "high drama of mankind." When he leaves college, he will doubtless send leather-bound editions of Shakespeare as wedding presents to his friends. If he marries, he will doubtless receive other leather-bound editions of Shakespeare in return. They will remain on the shelves, unread symbols of his respectability and of his fellowship in the society of those who would be shocked if one professed not to "like Shakespeare."

It is all very well to prepare bibliographies of Shakespeare's sources, it is all very well for scholars to search out each nook and cranny of his reputation, write tomes upon his punctuation or lack of it, and treatises upon his spelling. What they find of interest we will take, and thank them for it. But when they ask us to substitute their annotated text for Shakespeare himself, we respectfully decline. Shakespeare is not a dead book, like Merlin's book of magic as Tennyson describes it:

"Every page having an ample marge,
And every marge enclosing in the midst
A square of text that looks a little blot,
The text no larger than the limbs of fleas."

If any scholar chooses to tell us further that "none can read the text, not even I; and none can read the comment but myself," he is frankly welcome to his mystery.

The true vitality of Shakespeare cannot be more convincingly stated than has been recently done by Hermann Hagedorn in his masque "The House of Magic," given in the Century Theater, New York City, as a memorial benefit for the veteran dramatic critic and lover of Shakespeare, William Winter. In Mr. Hagedorn's masque the Spirit of the Modern City questions the reality of those great romantic figures, born of Shakespeare's genius, that have played so large a part in the development of the last three centuries. The City cries to those who have sought refuge in Shakespeare's "cobwebbed house of dreams:—"

"You have a noble house. But it is old.
Its tapestries are rags. The winter wind

Blows through them and the colors are grown faint.

What musty lords and ladies, dead and gone,
Stare down at me? . . .

These faint lips,
Faint eyes, faint hands, these ghosts of ages past

In toga, cope, and crown, these gray dead men,
These gray dead women—what are they to you?

How can you waste a moment of dear life
With pallid specters, while without the world
Heaves in enormous conflict, and men die
As locusts die, in traps, by myriads,
And everywhere are white hands reaching up,
And hearts desirous and adventurous feet,
And noble men and base men and fierce wars?
Awake to life! Have done, have done with dreams!"

Then out of the darkness come the voices of the spirits of Shakespeare—the drunken porter of Macbeth, standing guardian at the gate of hell, Coriolanus, breathing passion, the golden melody of Ariel, the revelry and laughter of Falstaff, and the love music of Romeo and Juliet. It is their magic speech that makes the City ask:

"Voices! Young voices! Lovers! Who are they

Who come, scattering the magic of first love
In drops of liquid fire on the night air?"

Follow then Viola and Malvolio, and Benedick from "Much Ado About Nothing," to be swallowed up at last in the darkness. There come, too, Portia, Shylock, Antonio, and the voice of Enobarbus, painting with gilded words the barge of Cleopatra. Orlando and Rosalind play their parts, and then in fiercer contrast bursts forth the stormy love of Katherine and Petruchio. When these depart the Spirit of the City finds it in her heart to say:

"These are not dreams. These are more real
Than flesh and blood and houses and high towers.

Those live, and in an unkind wind they die.
These cannot die. They have no mortal part
A chill east wind can blow into thin dust.
They are above the blight of wind or sun,
Intimate and immortal among men."

In the martial tones of Henry V, the wrangling of Brutus and Cassius, the tragedy of Wolsey, the perturbation of Hamlet, the comic doubt of Launcelot Gobbo, and in the dread fate of Lear, the Spirit of the Modern City learns to find more than an echo of her own realities. It is the outcast Lear that moves her to say:

"Oh, king of rags, am I your daughter, I?

And do I guard my splendor in warm rooms,

While you go crying through the stormy dark,
Shelterless and forsaken, a mad king,
Too kind, too little cautious, for hard hearts
Like mine to comprehend? Under what
names,

Here in my city, do you brave the storm?
Speak, speak. Under what names, under
what names?

Gone! On what corner will I shuffle by
A shivering, ragged king, and know him not."

If, like the City of Mr. Hagedorn's masque, we can find the courage, the vision, and the humility to go to Shakespeare for the knowledge and the understanding of our own times, for the searching of our own hearts, and the reflection of our own passions and ambitions, we shall never find occasion to view the celebration of the tercentenary of his death with any feeling of dread or alarm.

Shakespeare is not dead, either "for an age or all time," despite the best efforts of those who have endeavored to immortalize his fame.

OUR NATION AND OUR ARMY

Since 1911 we have been threatened by revolution and invasion on our southern border.

It was in that year that President Taft ordered the mobilization of a division of troops, a division which should have numbered 19,000 men, but which twenty-five days after the orders for concentration were

issued reached only 11,000. Eighty-five days after the order for mobilization was given it reached its maximum strength of a little under 13,000 men!

To-day on this Mexican border there is concentrated two-thirds of the mobile army of the United States—a Nation of one hundred million souls. Yet before these troops were able to advance into Mexico on a punitive expedition against a bandit chief it was found necessary to send for reinforcements from California, Georgia, Kansas, and Virginia; and before any expeditionary force could venture upon a foreign soil it found it necessary to advertise for fifty-four motor trucks for the transport of its supplies.

Disregarding the ever-threatening possibility of such an expedition into Mexican territory as we have now undertaken, we have been setting our army an impossible task even in protecting our own soil. We have asked twenty thousand men, divided into organizations too depleted for efficiency, to guard a line four times as long as that which divides the armies of France and Germany.

That such has been the case can in no way be laid to the door of our army officers. The responsibility for this state of affairs rests directly upon Congress and the people of the United States. It is unfortunate that the burden and toil of the undertaking now thrust upon the shoulders of Funston, Pershing, and Dodd cannot also be laid upon our Congress and our people.

PRESIDENT WILSON, MR. ROOSEVELT, AND BELGIUM

A REPLY TO EX-GOVERNOR GLYNN

AT the Republican State Convention held in New York City a few weeks ago ex-Senator Root made a severe and *apparently* unanswerable criticism of President Wilson for the latter's failure to utter an official protest against the criminal invasion and destruction of Belgium by Germany. I say *apparently* unanswerable because at the Democratic State Conference or Convention held at Syracuse a few days later an attempt was made to answer it. Ex-Governor Glynn, a gifted, capable, and highly intelligent Democrat, was selected as the David of the Administration party to destroy the

Republican Goliath personified by Mr. Root. Curiously enough, however, the Goliath attacked by "David" Glynn was really not Mr. Root at all, but Mr. Roosevelt. It is not a little amusing to the ordinary observer to find that, however much the Republican war horses insist that Mr. Hughes or Mr. McCall or Mr. Cummins or Mr. Borah or Mr. Root is really their champion, the pro-Administration forces persist in regarding Mr. Roosevelt as the Republican champion. There may be some significance in this which I do not wholly fathom. But let that pass.

Mr. Roosevelt is entirely capable of taking

care of himself and does not need the assistance of *The Outlook*. This journal is concerned, however, in Mr. Glynn's slings and pebbles because he included *The Outlook* in his attack. Several correspondents have called attention to the fact that in his speech at Syracuse Mr. Glynn quoted from an article by Mr. Roosevelt which appeared in *The Outlook* of September 23, 1914—a quotation which makes it appear that on that date Mr. Roosevelt agreed that Mr. Wilson was right in making no protest about Belgium. "How do you explain," they ask, "the inconsistency between the position that Mr. Roosevelt [according to Mr. Glynn] took in September, 1914, with regard to a Belgian protest and the position which he takes to-day in declaring that Mr. Wilson failed in his duty to humanity and to American principles when he failed to make such a protest? Does not such a glaring inconsistency prove that Mr. Roosevelt is a turncoat, and therefore unreliable as a leader of public opinion?"

The answer is very simple. Mr. Roosevelt neither entertained nor expressed the views which Mr. Glynn alleges he held in September, 1914. To substantiate his allegations Mr. Glynn presented to the Democratic State Convention a mutilated quotation from Mr. Roosevelt's article in *The Outlook*, omitting certain sentences from the passage quoted so as wholly to change its meaning. Mr. Glynn is the unreliable leader of public opinion, not Mr. Roosevelt.

Mr. Glynn's logic appears to me to be something like this: Mr. Root says that Mr. Wilson is to be condemned for a breach of moral and Presidential duty when he failed in 1914 to protest against the invasion of Belgium, and urged that the people of the United States should be not only neutral in act, but in heart. But how can that be if in taking this position he adopted the standards of Theodore Roosevelt? For I am sure, my Democratic fellow-citizens, that you do not ask your President to be measured by any higher standards than those afforded by the official acts and public utterances of the greatest of living American statesmen!

To substantiate this striking compliment (which, however, in all fairness to Mr. Glynn, it must be admitted, was involuntary or at least subconscious) Mr. Glynn proceeded to read the following extract, which he said appeared over the signature of Theodore Roosevelt in *The Outlook* of September 23, 1914. In order not to fall into the error of misquota-

tion I have obtained from the Democratic State Headquarters in New York City an official copy of Mr. Glynn's speech, and reprint the alleged Roosevelt extract exactly as Mr. Glynn gave it:

"A delegation of Belgians has arrived to invoke our assistance. What action our government can or will take, I know not.

"It has been assumed that no action can be taken that will interfere with our neutrality. It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other.

"Of course, it would be folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose and very probably nothing we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her and I am sure that the sympathy of this country for the suffering of the men, women and children of Belgium is very real.

"Nevertheless this sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective; and only the clearest and most urgent national duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and non-interference."

Mr. Glynn, who is an accomplished newspaper proprietor and editor, did not add that, while these words were all written by Mr. Roosevelt, their arrangement and juxtaposition are due to the editorial skill of Mr. Glynn himself in handling the proverbial scissors and paste-pot of the newspaper sanctum. Nevertheless, as the Buffalo "Inquirer" remarks, the words which Mr. Glynn put into Mr. Roosevelt's mouth made the Democratic State Convention happy, for they proved to the satisfaction of the delegates that "Roosevelt thus is completely canceled by Roosevelt; Contributing Editor Roosevelt provided the silencer for Tear-'im-to-Pieces Roosevelt; with their peculiar sense of humor, the American people are just the folks to enjoy that revelation."

Depending upon "the peculiar sense of humor" of that portion of the American people who happen to read *The Outlook*, I now proceed to print the passage from Mr. Roosevelt's article as it originally appeared in these pages, putting in italics those sentences which Mr. Glynn conveniently omitted in his alleged quotation:

A deputation of Belgians has arrived in this country to invoke our assistance in the time of their dreadful need. What action our Govern-

ment can or will take I know not. It has been announced [Mr Glynn changes the word *announced* into *assumed*] that no action can be taken that will interfere with our entire neutrality. It is certainly eminently desirable that we should remain entirely neutral, and nothing but urgent need would warrant breaking our neutrality and taking sides one way or the other. *Our first duty is to hold ourselves ready to do whatever the changing circumstances demand in order to protect our own interests in the present and in the future; although, for my own part, I desire to add to this statement the proviso that under no circumstances must we do anything dishonorable, especially towards unoffending weaker nations. Neutrality may be of prime necessity in order to preserve our own interests, to maintain peace in so much of the world as is not affected by the war, and to conserve our influence for helping toward the re-establishment of general peace when the time comes; for if any outside Power is able at such time to be the medium for bringing peace, it is more likely to be the United States than any other. But we pay the penalty of this action on behalf of peace for ourselves, and possibly for others in the future, by forfeiting our right to do anything on behalf of peace for the Belgians in the present. We can maintain our neutrality only by refusal to do anything to aid unoffending weak Powers which are dragged into the gulf of bloodshed and misery through no fault of their own. Of course it would be folly to jump into the gulf ourselves to no good purpose; and very probably nothing that we could have done would have helped Belgium. We have not the smallest responsibility for what has befallen her [I interpret this sentence to mean that we have not the smallest share in the guilt; a man may not be in the slightest responsible for the murder of a neighbor and yet have a deep responsibility to share in the work of apprehending the murderer], and I am sure that the sympathy of this country for the suffering of the men, women, and children of Belgium is very real. Nevertheless, this sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of our uttering a single word of official protest unless we are prepared to make that protest effective; and only the clearest and most urgent National duty would ever justify us in deviating from our rule of neutrality and non-interference. But it is a grim comment on the professional pacifist theories as hitherto developed that our duty to preserve peace for ourselves may necessarily mean the abandonment of all effective effort to secure peace for other unoffending nations which through no fault of their own are dragged into the war.*

A simple comparison of the garbled text presented by Mr. Glynn and the actual

text as written by Mr. Roosevelt is sufficient to show the pit which the Syracuse champion has dug for himself. Leaving him to scramble out of it as best he can, I ask the reader to have patience with me while I do a little expounding of my own.

I happen to know what Mr. Roosevelt's views were in September, 1914, not only because they are expressed in the article in question, but because they were also expressed in many private conversations in The Outlook's office. At the time that his article was written Mr. Roosevelt, as well as The Outlook, in common with all other patriotic citizens of the country, desired to give the President of the United States a full and free opportunity to formulate his policy with regard to all the international questions involved in the war. Mr. Roosevelt—and The Outlook agreed with him—at that very time believed that an official protest against the Belgian invasion was demanded both on the grounds of good morals and good Americanism. He hoped that the President was going to come to this view, and he did not desire to put obstructions in his way, although he reserved the right to criticise the President if he failed to condemn the Belgian invasion. It was in this spirit that Mr. Roosevelt made the allusions to Belgium in the article which Mr. Glynn misquoted.

The article was not written, however, for the purpose of urging action with regard to Belgium, but for the purpose of urging the importance of military preparedness upon the American people at a time when Mr. Wilson was calling all talk of preparedness hysterical. The article was entitled "The World War: Its Tragedies and Its Lessons." Just before the passage which Mr. Glynn mutilated Mr. Roosevelt said: "I wish it *explicitly understood* that I am not at this time passing judgment upon Germany for what she did to Belgium. But I do wish to point out just what was done, and to emphasize Belgium's absolute innocence and the horrible suffering and disaster that have overwhelmed her in spite of such innocence. And I wish to do this so that we, as a Nation, may learn aright the lessons taught by this dreadful Belgian tragedy." And Mr. Roosevelt further added that the chief lesson is that such a state of things as prevails in Belgium "can be abolished only when we put force, when we put the collective armed power of civilization, behind some body which shall, with reasonable justice and equity, represent the collective

determination of civilization to do what is right."

Even to Mr. Glynn, or to the editors of "Harper's Weekly" and the Buffalo "Inquirer" and the Chattanooga "News" (all of whom, so I learn from several correspondents, have been as pleased as Punch at the thought that Mr. Roosevelt indorsed Mr. Wilson in 1914), it must be apparent that in these words Mr. Roosevelt reserves the right to protest against the invasion of Belgium in future articles. Moreover, if these gentlemen are capable of understanding irony they will find in the italicized sentences, which Mr. Glynn omitted from his Syracuse version of Mr. Roosevelt's article, some ironical comment which I should hardly think could be accepted with much rejoicing by Mr. Wilson's supporters as an indorsement of his views.

For example: "Neutrality *may* be of prime necessity to maintain peace, . . . but we pay the penalty of this action on behalf of peace for ourselves, and possibly for others in the future, by forfeiting our right to do anything on behalf of peace for the Belgians at present."

Or, again: "Sympathy is compatible with full acknowledgment of the unwisdom of our uttering a single word of official protest

unless we are prepared to make that protest effective."

And, finally: "But it is a *grim comment* on the professional pacifist theories as hitherto developed [by Mr. Wilson, let us interpolate] that our duty to preserve the peace for ourselves may necessarily mean the abandonment of all effective effort to secure peace for other unoffending nations which through no fault of their own are dragged into the war."

I submit that any fair-minded judge in a court of law would rule that Mr. Roosevelt in these sentences had laid the foundation for his argument in later speeches and articles against the whole policy which the Government of the United States has pursued in regard to the international crime committed by Germany in the rape of Belgium.

Mr. Glynn has a perfect right to defend the Belgian policy of President Wilson; to commend his official appeal for neutrality of act and neutrality of heart; and to argue that the safety of this country demanded that we should pass by on the other side when Belgium was stricken. But he has no right to claim Mr. Roosevelt as having been one of his colleagues in holding these views.

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT.

KNOLL PAPERS

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A VOICE FROM THE FRENCH TRENCHES

Dear Sir:

The Front.

This letter comes from the trenches in France, and the writer is a French soldier who has a special sympathy for American problems and American ideals. I have read The Outlook for the last few years, and even now the paper is sent to me quite regularly by relatives in America. Your contributions to The Outlook, always interesting to foreign observers of the American attitude toward religious questions, evince in these times of tribulation a well-marked character of consolation and encouragement; they are a balm to souls stricken in their most cherished ideals. Many among us feel shaken, not in our faith in God's mercy, but in our belief in human kind and civilization and man's perfectibility. And here you come, sir, with this great deed of yours, with this stanch optimism preached in such winning manner in spite of all that is happening, in

spite of our bitter deceptions. I wish to tell you my gratitude for the hope that still lives in my heart, thanks in great part to the serene wisdom of your philosophy.

This letter is prompted more specially by your article "Whither?" in the issue for December 15, in which you vindicate so convincingly the religion of the present generation. This reading made me anxious to know your opinion about the doctrine of sacrificial atonement considered in relation with the innocent victims of this war, be they civilians or combatants. You say that you can explain to a skeptical friend "a doctrine of sacrificial atonement, and it will seem to him a mere scholastic theory, and perhaps it will be, as I state it, nothing more than a scholastic theory. But sacrificial atonement is not merely a historic fact, it is a present experience." Further you speak of "the reality of a continually repeated Gethsemane."

These words recalled to my mind an incident which was discussed in the French papers in 1897, when a famous preacher in Notre Dame Cathedral created a sensation by expressing from the pulpit a view of the question of atonement which seemed shocking, tactless, and too mediæval for modern ears and feelings. It was upon a solemn and sad occasion, at the funeral service for the victims who had found a terrible death in the fire of the Bazar de la Charité. I was a mere boy then, but I believe the eloquent Dominican said in substance: These ladies of high rank have not deserved such an end met while engaged in charitable work; but God used them as innocent victims, and sacrificed them to make atonement for the wickedness of skeptic France.

A similar incident occurred at the front not three months ago, when a military chaplain, speaking at a funeral, said that the fallen officers and soldiers were known to him to be faithful Christians, and that was the very reason why God had chosen them, the best among their fellows, to die and serve as redeemers of a pagan world.

In both cases the untimely end of virtuous people is assimilated to the voluntary sacrifice of Christ, the suffering of the just, with or without their consent, being an atonement for the sins of the unjust.

Both cases caused a scandal in the lay papers, and in the last instance the Government was even urged to censure and to punish such unhuman utterances. The Catholic press upheld the incriminated opinions, saying that the blamers only showed the utter ignorance of the pure Christian doctrine so prevalent in modern French society.

I wonder how many people in France are ready to subscribe to such an interpretation of the Gospel? It seems to be a very stern doctrine which antagonizes sharply the common ideas of justice. It is true that justice becomes quite a conundrum in face of what we see every day out here. Why so much suffering? Do we deserve it? Can some good ever come out of such evil?

For many of us the only way out of this maze of enigmas is the theory of solidarity; we cannot possibly escape the solidarity which enchains us to our fellows; we surely gain through their qualities, and we must suffer through their faults, present or long past. But this is the scientific solution; what is the Gospel's?

Believe me, sir, very sincerely yours.

* * * *

That the innocent suffer for the sins of the guilty, that the wise suffer for the folly of the foolish, is undoubtedly true. But that God, who has told us to forgive our enemies, refuses to forgive his own, that he visits the penalty on the innocent that he may excuse the guilty, that he who has condemned the law "An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" exacts as a condition of pardon an equivalent in suffering for every offense against his laws, is to me unthinkable. I hold this doctrine in all its forms and phases to be unscriptural, un-Christian, irrational, and its effects on thought and life immoral.

Your explanation, if it does not solve the unsolved riddle of life, at least throws light upon it: "We cannot possibly escape the solidarity which enchains us to our fellows." We cannot; would we wish to? While you in the trenches are fighting the battle for the rights and liberties of mankind, some of us in America are doing all the little we can do to arouse our slumberous fellow-citizens to realize that there is something better for America than to escape the solidarity which enchains us to our fellows. We do not wish that America should enter the war, because we do not believe that this would be the best thing she could do to promote the cause of liberty and justice, which we have at heart. But we do wish that all Americans shall be thinking of something else than how they can harvest prosperity for themselves out of their neighbors' tragedy, and shall do what in them lies to protect, not merely their own lives and interests, but the lives and interests of all non-combatants, whether neutrals or belligerents, whether on land or on sea. In our enforced isolation we almost envy you who are in the thick of the battle. As you know, some Americans have testified to their desire to bear their neighbors' burden by entering the military service, and some of them by their service in the hospitals and in the Red Cross.

I live in a village which has by popular vote created a water supply owned and managed by the village. Those who voted against it and those who voted for this system equally get the advantage of it. Three times we have voted on the question whether we shall have a sewer, and each time the majority have voted no. If, as a result, the village is visited by an epidemic, those who voted for the sewer will suffer equally with those who voted against it. The wise suffer for the unwisdom of the unwise; the

unwise are benefited by the wisdom of the wise.

If it were not so, there could be no real progress in the community, and no brotherhood. The fact that we suffer for each other's faults and are benefited by each other's virtues gives us an interest in each other, compels us to consider each other's welfare, and inspires in us the desire to make the community wise and virtuous. This solidarity makes us one family, each seeking to understand his neighbors' opinions, to weigh his neighbors' judgments, and to consider his neighbors' well-being.

I have a friend who has developed in her village a boys' club. It is organized in four Indian tribes. These tribes are in competition for a cup which is given at the end of the year to the tribe which has the best record. No boy is individually rewarded for any service which he renders—it is credited to the tribe; no boy is penalized for any fault or failure—it is charged against the tribe; and no tribe reports against another tribe—each tribe keeps and reports its own record. The result is, not a *mutual* responsibility but a *communal* responsibility; not each member of the tribe responsible for the conduct of his fellow, but each member responsible for his tribe and the tribe responsible for each member. The club has enacted a rule against cigarette smoking; and whereas five years ago cigarette smoking by boys on the village streets was very common, it is now almost unknown. The joint responsibility has banished it from the club, and the club has made it unfashionable in the village.

The history of America illustrates on a large scale the operation of this law of solidarity of which you have spoken. Sixty years ago half our Nation was dominated by the slave power. The majority of the people in the North tried to ease their conscience by disavowing to themselves and to others all responsibility for slavery. They washed their hands, saying, We are innocent of the blood of the enslaved Negroes. A small minority urged them to rid themselves of their responsibility by withdrawing from the Union and leaving slavery to perish, as they believed it would perish if unsupported by National authority. It took years of public agitation and the shock of a great war to convince the people of the free States of the solidarity of the Nation, to convince them that they were responsible for the crime of slavery, and could

not rid themselves of that responsibility by consenting to a dissolution of the Union. In Abraham Lincoln's second inaugural address, almost his last words to his fellow-countrymen, he put this solidarity of the Nation, this inescapable responsibility for its wrong-doing, solemnly before the people:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether.'"

The solidarity of the family, the community, the nation, all point to the solidarity of the human race. Frenchman, Belgian, Englishman, Italian, Russian, Pole, Servian, Hungarian, Austrian, German, American—we are members of the one great family of nations, bound together, blessed in each other's heroism, shamed in each other's dishonor, suffering each for the other's wrong-doing. No one liveth to himself, no one dieth to himself. As in our American Revolution our fathers fought to win for all mankind the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; as in the War of 1812 they fought to insure the right of all peaceful commerce to sail the sea unhindered and unmolested; as in our Civil War we fought, not only for the preservation of our Nation, not only for the emancipation of our slaves, but that government of the people, by the people, and for the people should not perish *from the earth*; as in many a European battlefield in England, France, Italy, Greece, Hungary, our battles were fought, and the sons of the heroes of these campaigns have come to America consecrated to liberty by the blood of their fathers; so now you and your compatriots are fighting, not for France only, but for the whole race of man. In the name of many millions of Americans who cannot speak I send you their message of reverencing love, of confident hope, and of an assured faith that the libations of blood poured out on French soil will not have been poured out in vain, that from your sowing in tears will spring up a harvest of justice and liberty in other lands to bless generations yet unborn.

The Knoll, Cornwall-on-the-Hudson

THE PRE-NOMINATION CAMPAIGN

THE REPUBLICAN TRILEMMA—HUGHES, ROOT, ROOSEVELT—HOW IT MAY BE SOLVED

STAFF CORRESPONDENCE BY FREDERICK M. DAVENPORT

THAT man, I think, has not looked deeply into the American mind who has not observed a profound awakening of National sentiment with respect to the leadership of the country. Battle-ships and regiments, tariffs and trade, new programmes of National organization, enthusiasm for a better social order—what are they if the best of the brain and soul of the country is not in the pilot-house of the ship of state?

And this is the reason, I think, for the earnestness with which men of all parties contemplate the choice which the Republicans are to make for the Presidential nomination. And this is the reason why the choice has narrowed down to three names—Hughes, Root, and Roosevelt. The circumstance that these men are all from the State of New York appears not to make the slightest difference to the country. This is remarkable, too, because New York has no great political reputation with the rest of the United States. The politics of New York has been for many years a stench in the nostrils of the West. Politically, New York does not seem to the West to be in the Union: What the West regards as the reactionary ideas and the reactionary methods of New York politicians and financiers have long made almost a sectional political barrier of separation. One of the chief reasons for the continuing enthusiasm of the West for Roosevelt is that he has so frequently been a prophet without honor in his own State. And the reputation of Hughes became Nation-wide through the opposition of Mr. Barnes and Mr. Murphy. Nothing of recent times has done Mr. Root so much good in the West as his famous speech upon invisible government before the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York. And the fact that New York defeated the Constitution by an overwhelming majority counts not one-half so much against Mr. Root with the West as does the cool espousal of his name and fame by Mr. Barnes in the preliminary campaign for the Presidency.

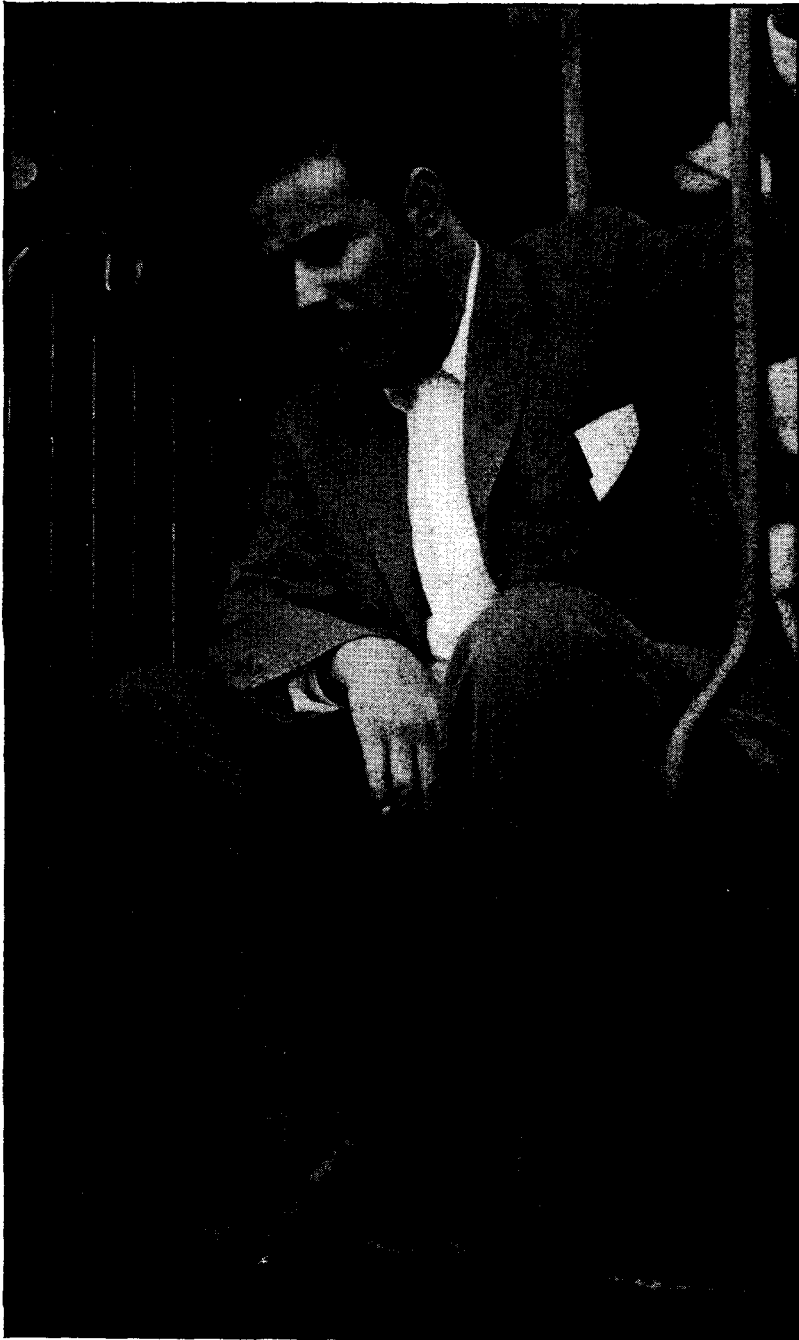
In my judgment, any one of these men—Hughes, Root, or Roosevelt—would make a great President of the United States. But not all of them can be elected in the ap-

proaching campaign. And yet there are great numbers of persons, without distinction of party, who believe that the surpassing ability of each one of them ought to be at the service of the country during the crucial years immediately before us. And the real National problem on its leadership side, in the event of or in anticipation of the success of the Republicans, is so to distribute the unquestioned genius of these men that the Nation may reap the harvest of their broad public experience and the riches of their intellect and character.

In writing the other day about Justice Hughes I did not have the space to emphasize what, to my mind, would be, in the face of much gain, the chief loss to the country if Justice Hughes were chosen for the Presidency. Mr. Roosevelt long ago emphasized the new nationalism of our time. And Mr. Wilson has enlarged upon the new freedom. And though the retort has been attempted that these are only the old nationalism and the old freedom, we all know that the Nation is coming into a new and difficult day. The function of American government is broadening and deepening in line with great economic and social movements throughout the world. And the advance in the United States is attended with much friction and perplexity because of our dual system of State and Federal powers. And the Supreme Court has been struggling along, seeking to clear up the twilight zone between the State and the Nation. This has been the problem from the time of Marshall down to the Minnesota rate case and the Shreveport case, and it is the eagle intellect of Hughes which has applied to the recent railway decisions the doctrine laid down by Marshall that, where the Federal Government comes in at all in the exercise of its prerogative, it comes with plenary power; that there is no such thing as co-ordinate jurisdiction in a matter of Federal concern; that there might have been local jurisdiction before the Federal jurisdiction was exercised, but, once exercised, it takes complete possession and is plenary in its power. The original opinion

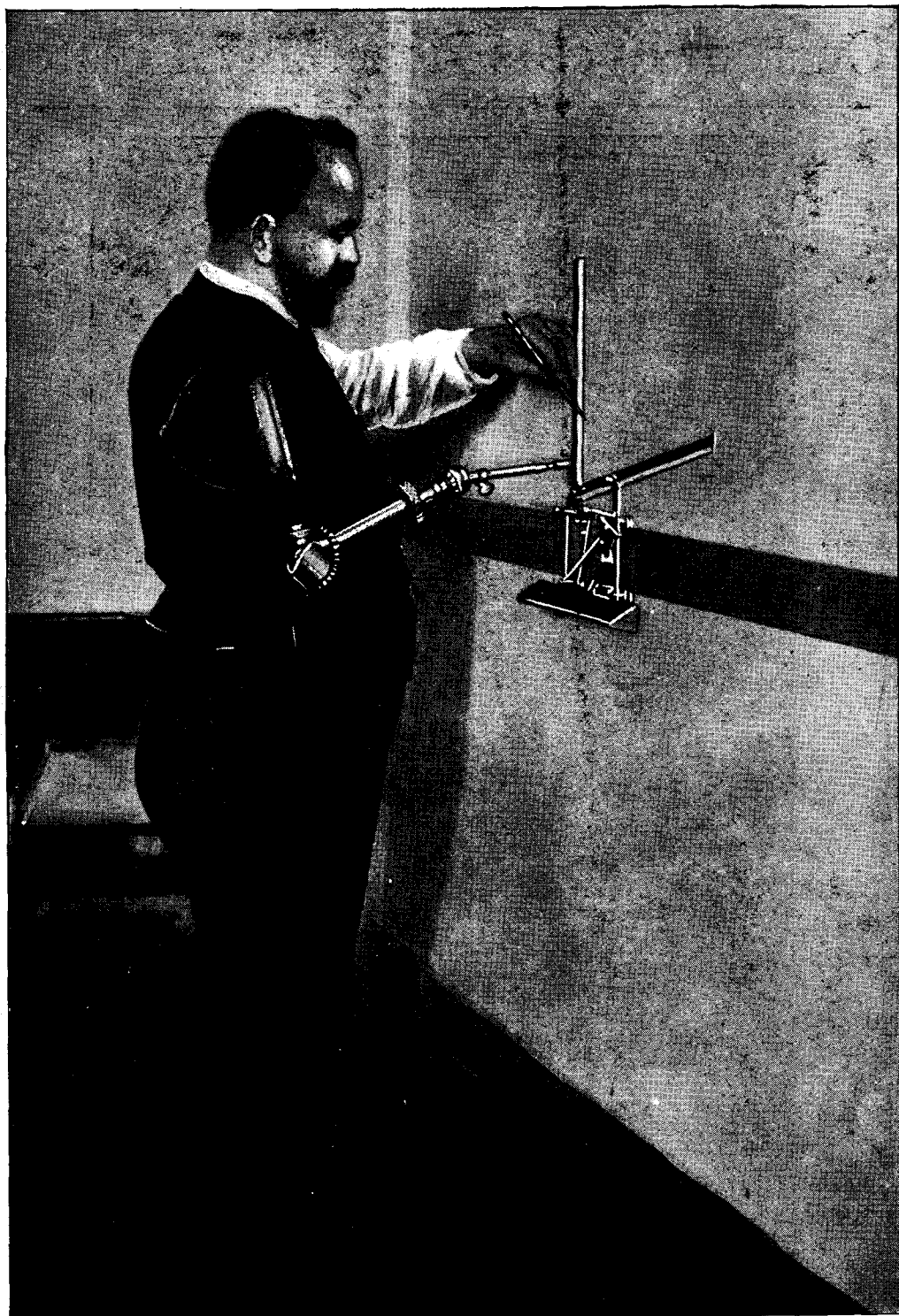
(Continued on page following illustrations)

Current Events Pictorially Treated



VILLA AS PHOTOGRAPHED BY THE OUTLOOK'S SPECIAL
CORRESPONDENT

The above photograph, published now for the first time, was made by Mr. Gregory Mason, of the Outlook staff, who is on the Mexican border at the present time preparing a series of articles for our pages. The picture was made two years ago, as Villa rested on the steps of a car, during Mr. Mason's previous trip to the scene of Mexican hostilities



PHOTOGRAPH BY AMERICAN PRESS ASSOCIATION

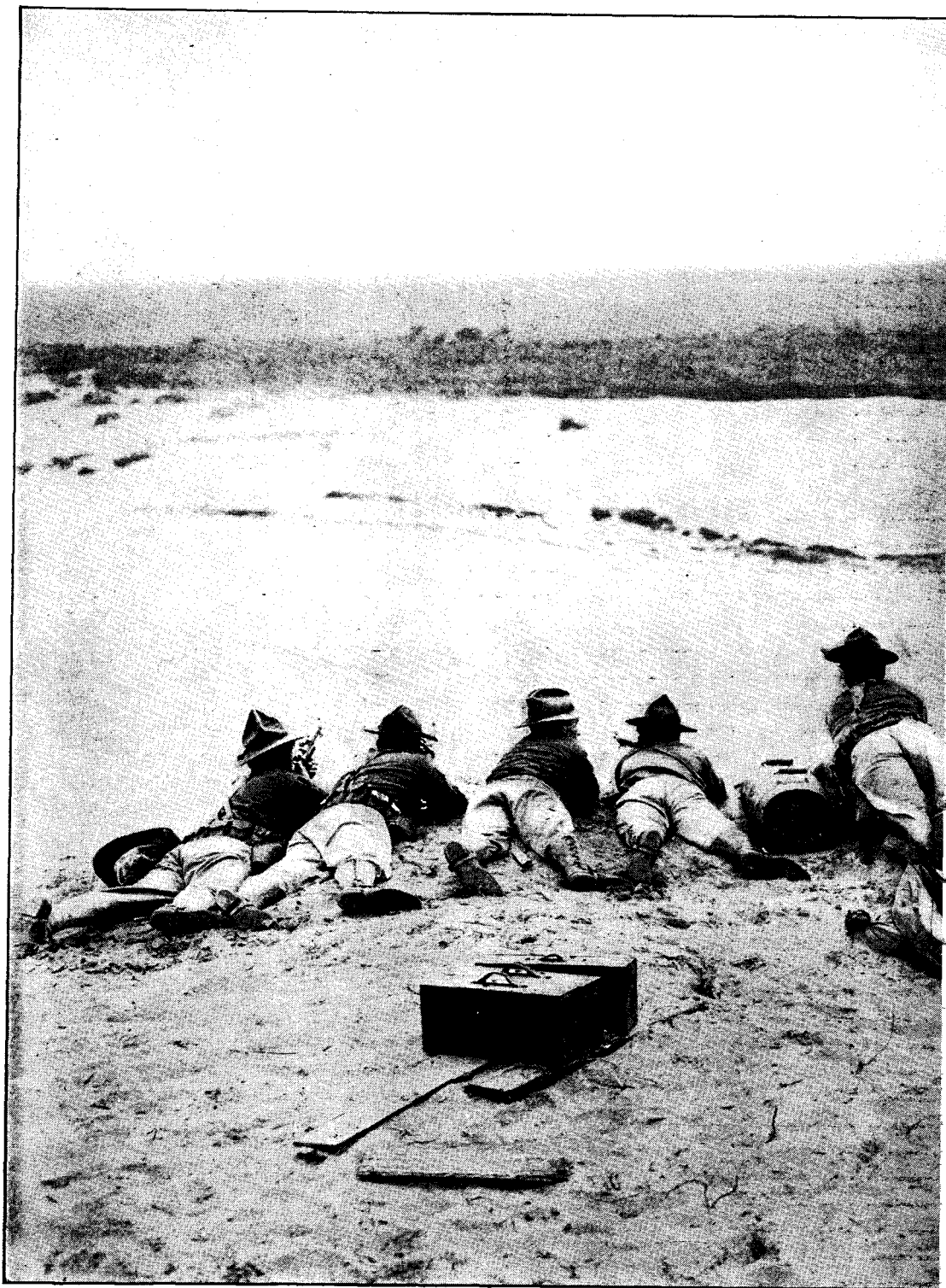
A WORKER IN AN "INDUSTRY HOSPITAL" THAT RESTORES MAIMED SOLDIERS TO USEFULNESS

The picture shows the use of an artificial arm by a soldier who has been discharged from the hospital for the wounded and has entered one in which he is to be trained for usefulness despite his handicap. These hospitals, or similar ones, are being operated by all the principal warring Powers; the photograph is of a German soldier in a Düsseldorf establishment of this character



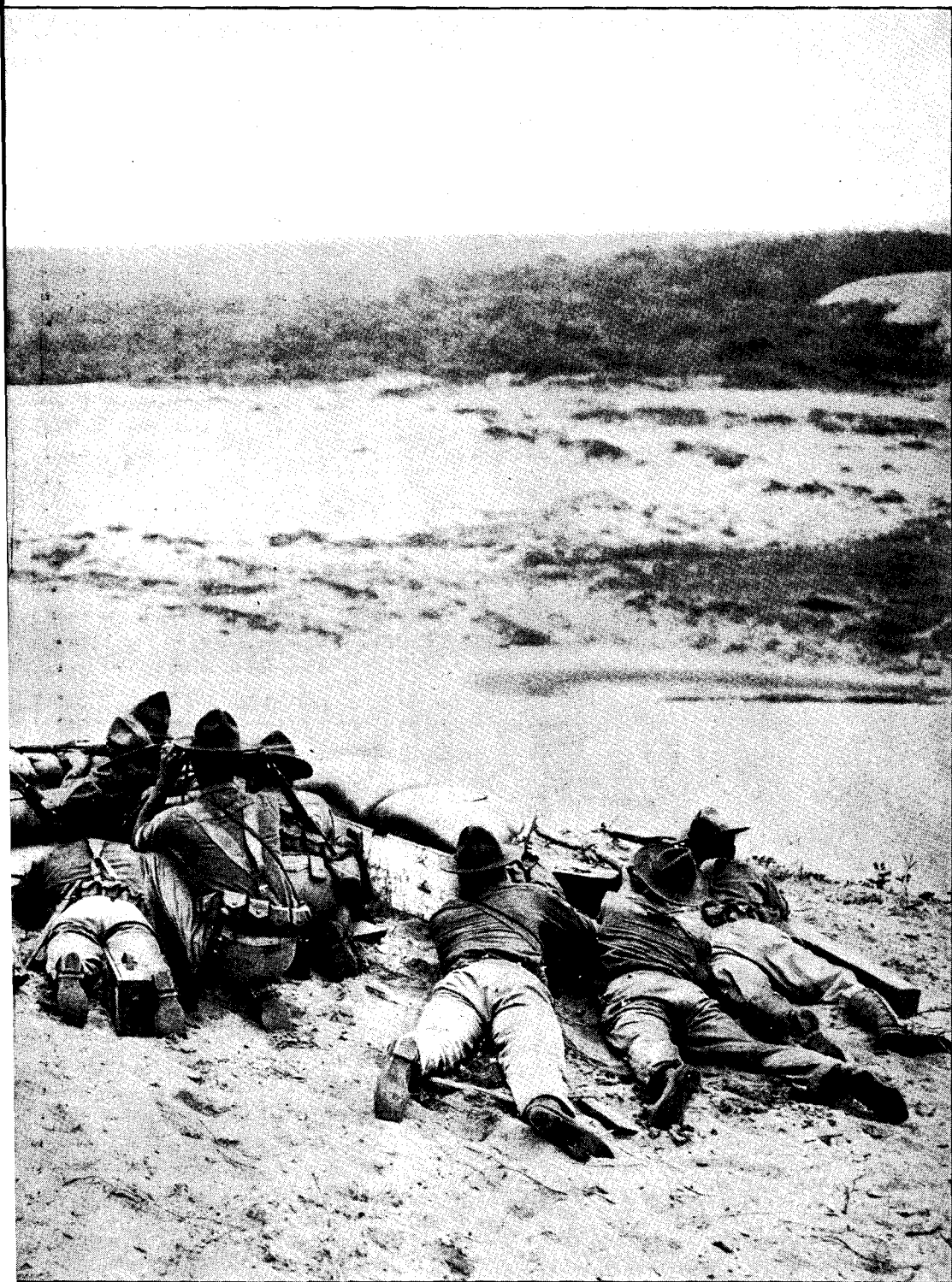
ADMIRAL VON CAPELLE, THE NEW HEAD OF THE GERMAN NAVY

Admiral von Tirpitz, who has resigned his position as Minister of Marine, has been famous as the promoter of Germany's submarine warfare; his successor, Admiral von Capelle, will, it is announced, carry on this warfare "without abatement or modification." Von Tirpitz's resignation, however, indicates dissension as to his methods, and in so far warrants a hope that Germany is to adopt humaner methods in her naval warfare



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THE ATTEMPT TO PUNISH THE MEXICAN BANDITS BY UNITED STATES TROOP
SOME OF THE SOLDIERS



DIFFICULT COUNTRY IN WHICH THE CAMPAIGN MUST BE CONDUCTED AND
WILL DO THE FIGHTING



A NATURAL LEADER OF THE NEGRO RACE—DR. H. B. FRISSELL, OF HAMPTON INSTITUTE

This remarkable photograph may be best described in the words of a correspondent who sends it to us: "When Dr. H. B. Frissell took his trip around the world, the party visited Zululand, in South Africa. While there one of the party noticed that a group of Zulu boys had, without saying anything, and without anything being said to them, without knowing who Dr. Frissell was nor understanding a word of English, but apparently just attracted by his personality as a dog sometimes is by that of a stranger who is fond of dogs, attached themselves to him and were accompanying him, and she took this snap-shot."

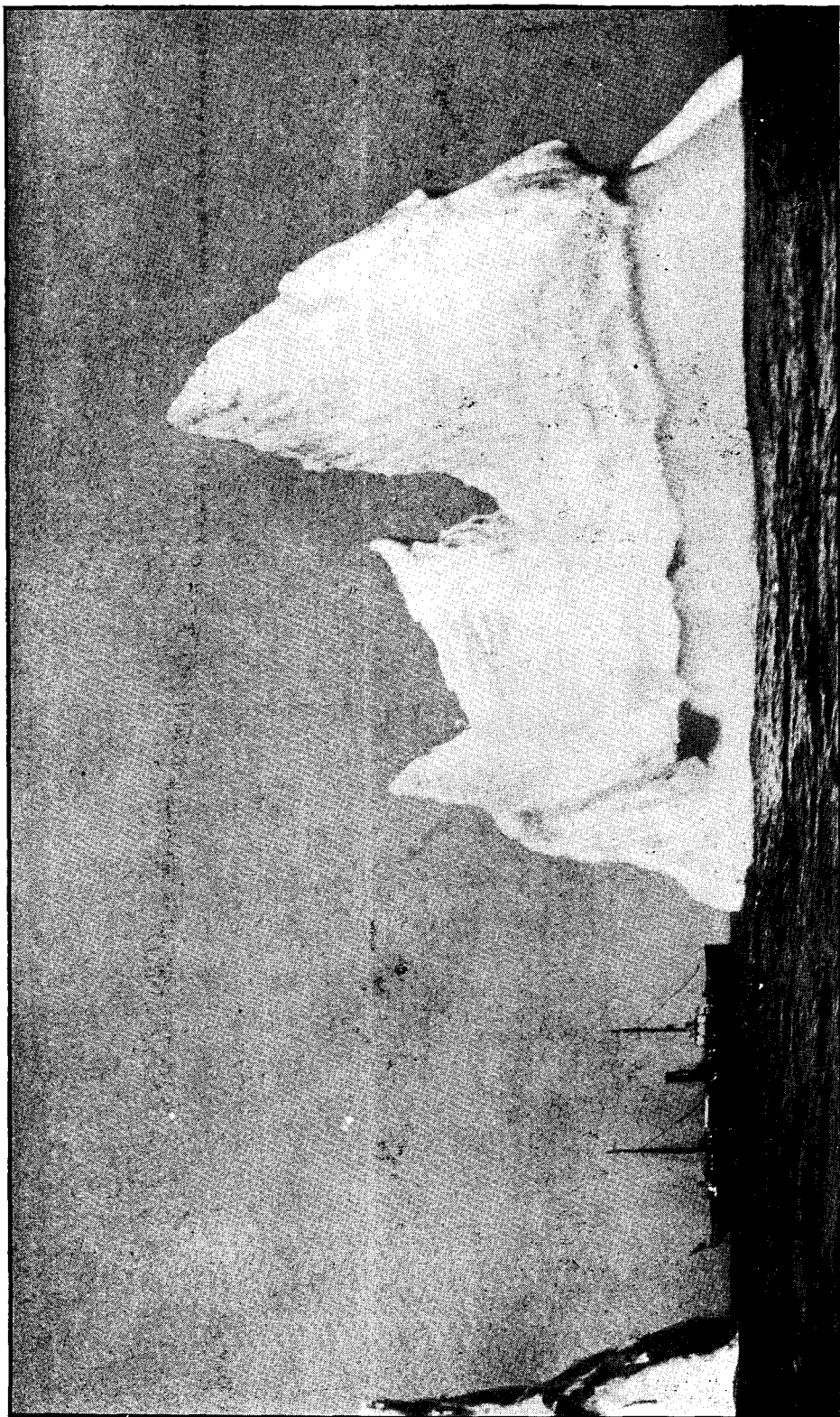


PHOTO FROM DOBBE FEATURE SERVICE

A UNITED STATES VESSEL THAT IS SAVING TRANSATLANTIC TRAFFIC FROM COLLISION WITH ICEBERGS
At this season of the year vast ice floes and icebergs in the vicinity of the Grand Banks prove a dangerous barrier to liners crossing the Atlantic in the region where the Titanic met her fate by crashing into a huge iceberg. To guard against this danger the United States Coast Guard cutter, the Seneca, has been despatched to patrol the sea off the Grand Banks, and reports daily by radio of the conditions in the waters of this region to Washington, D. C. The information sent out by the Seneca is in turn forwarded to various ports along the Atlantic coast for the benefit of shipping



SOME OF THE LATIN-AMERICANS PRESENT AT THE PANAMA CONGRESS

Professor Eduardo Monteverde, of the University of Montevideo, Uruguay, President of the Congress, dressed in white, stands in the center of the picture, on the second step. Judge Emilio del Toro, of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico, second from the right, in the third row (with arms folded). Professor Erasmo Braga, of Brazil, who is writing a popular volume describing the Congress, to be published in Portuguese, second from the left in the second row



THE BUSINESS COMMITTEE OF THE PANAMA CONGRESS

From left to right: The Rev. E. M. Sein (Methodist), of Mexico; Bishop William Cabell Brown (Protestant Episcopal), of Virginia, formerly of Brazil; Dr. John R. Mott (Y. M. C. A.), of New York; Dr. Robert E. Speer (Presbyterian), of New York; the Rev. S. G. Inman (Disciples), of New York; Bishop Homer C. Stuntz (Methodist), of Argentina; Dr. W. E. Browning (Presbyterian), of Chile. The first three men in the second row are, from left to right: Dr. S. H. Chester (Southern Presbyterian), of Nashville; Bishop Arthur S. Lloyd (Protestant Episcopal), of New York; Professor Eduardo Monteverde (Montevideo University), of Uruguay

NOTABLE FIGURES AT THE PANAMA CONGRESS ON CHRISTIAN WORK

See article by the Rev. S. G. Inman elsewhere in this issue

of Marshall was later modified, and on more than one occasion, as in the case of *Worcester vs. Georgia*, the Federal decrees were not enforced. To our day the boundary between State and Federal power has been obscure and vague. Since Marshall no man on the Court has so completely and convincingly cleared up questions of Federal authority as Hughes. Until he came to the bench the Court was uncertain and divided. The decisions were mixed and confusing. And then the mind of Hughes got hold of them. Now everybody breathes more freely except a few denizens of the twilight zone. They are in a panic.

And Justice Hughes's speech before the Bar Association in New York in January of this year is as extraordinary an expression of sound and far-reaching Nationalist doctrine as has ever been uttered. He speaks of the development of American law, and says that in recent years the tremendously increased exercise of Federal power under the commerce clause of the Constitution has not developed either partisan or any other serious opposition; that it reflects an increased National conviction of recent origin; and that the people, being disposed to exercise greater governmental control, are disposed to utilize freely whatever powers they find at their immediate command, caring little for divergencies from former political theory.

And my belief is that, if Justice Hughes's votes and opinions are studied from the time he entered the Court, it will be found that they are decisions and expositions of a free and unfettered Nationalism. Whether it be a case involving the rights of a railway corporation of labor, or of the foreign-born, it will be found that the spirit of a broad Americanism runs through it all. And the fundamental reason for it is that the physically weak and sickly boy who walked six miles every day through the streets of New York to and from his first job, with very little money in the family and nobody to take him by the hand, but who fought his way out of physical weakness into strength and through college, and through the preparation for the law and up through the Governorship of his State to the Supreme Court of his country, has had an experience which makes him feel the way the majority of the American people feel. And he is so permeated with the spirit of America, with its ideals and aspirations, that, when he thinks, his conclusion is such as will be approved by the great majority of his countrymen. They cannot express it in opinions of

the Supreme Court of the United States. With his wonderful mastery of English and of logical analysis he can express it.

And when the war is over, the great movement for democratic Nationalism at home and abroad is likely to go on more swiftly than before. And whose clear, sound mind shall be on guard in that final testing-ground of our institutions, the Supreme Court of the United States? It is no wonder that there are those who feel that to make Justice Hughes President would perhaps be in this crisis what it would have been to drag Marshall from his seat at the beginning of his career in the first great critical period of American history. It is not for any man to predict what the future may have in store for the first of this group of three great citizens of the Republic, but if, in the order of providence, Charles E. Hughes should become Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of his country, there would be few to deny that a man with the possibilities of a second Marshall, with the instincts of a broad democratic Nationalism to which the first Marshall was necessarily a stranger, was sitting in the seat of the mighty.

I turn to the second of this extraordinary trio. When history sits down to recount the labors and the services of Elihu Root for the United States, she will be lost in admiration for the diversity of his resources and his powers. As the keenest thinker in his party organization, as a truly National Senator in Congress, as a remarkably efficient Secretary of War and a surpassingly able student and secretary of international affairs, he occupies already a place in public reflection conceded only to minds of the first rank. At the age of seventy he renounced the Senate and public position, and sought to become a sage and retire to the quiet of private life.

But the quiet of Elihu Root's private life is a curious thing to contemplate. The burdens of great private causes tend as naturally to gravitate to him and overwhelm him as ever public burdens did. He is the brain and soul of several of the great philanthropic Carnegie corporations. He is President of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and a powerful and working member of the Executive Committee of several of the Carnegie boards. The public has a misconception of Elihu Root as, first of all, a great corporation lawyer. As a matter of fact, his practice has been general and broad, and he is first of all, not a great corporation lawyer,

but a great expert in the law of wills. And, unless I am mistaken, it is the vision of Root that will eventually cause the wealth of more than one great business American to pour permanently and wisely in streams of beneficence upon the world. He is a member of the Board of Trustees of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the New York Public Library. He is President of the Board of Trustees of Hamilton College, and of the Union League Club, and of the American Bar Association. And he finds time in the midst of it all to write a keynote speech for his party, in the delicate world situation of his country, to which, to put it mildly, there has been as yet no convincing reply. At the Democratic Convention in the State of New York the other day there was an attempt to substitute a clever turning of the flank and personal innuendo for a direct answer. But the element of personal attack rather queered the discussion. It helped about as much as it usually does to make faces at the man you are arguing with.

Even those who question the soundness of Mr. Root's argument, when he spoke at Carnegie Hall for his party, are the readiest to confess that, when it comes to the statesmanship of international affairs, the mind of Elihu Root is as relentlessly searching and certain as the mind of Hughes has been in the modern development of the doctrine of Nationalism on the Supreme bench. Once elected, Elihu Root would make a remarkable President, and his greatness would be most powerfully manifest on the international side. That is a field in which his mind normally runs without predilection, prejudice, or friction. There has never been any question even with his opponents that the light of truth and experience alone sways him in that sphere. There even his opponents say that his mind pursues clearly its free and unhampered way.

I think I know the sort of reply that he would make to those critics of his Carnegie Hall speech who declare that you cannot make a protest without going to war about it, and that to have made a formal protest about Belgium would have involved us at once in war. I think he would say that a protest merely reserves all rights for the future, that it does not imply any action. It creates a situation in which the country protesting is left at liberty in the future to deny that its rights have been impaired by any assent to the action protested against. It would be, to his mind, a good deal like the

application of the doctrine of estoppel in ordinary affairs. If a man stands by and hears a public statement made regarding an affair that he is interested in and remains silent, he may be estopped as a matter of law from ever after denying the truth of the statement, provided he was under clear duty to speak.

And how thin the attempt in Congress to convict Elihu Root of inconsistency because, while Secretary of State in the Roosevelt Administration, he did not protest against the alleged violation of Korea by Japan! Korea had already, by treaty, given herself over to the control of Japan in much the same way as the control of England is exercised over Egypt. The Chargé d'Affaires of Korea in Washington had turned his archives over to the Japanese Embassy and notified our Government. Sovereignty had already departed from Korea. As Mr. Root has pointed out, we had no more right to interfere than we had to interfere to determine the Presidential succession in Mexico. Even to those who do not see the difference between attending to our own business and interfering with that of other people, the illumination of Mr. Root may appeal. The Koreans were not a free or self-governing people. They were subject to an absurd, effete, old Oriental despotism. They were not civilized nor on the road to civilization. They had not the vigor to set themselves free. Their government had not the vigor to stand alone in the world. They were the puppets of their absurd old opera-bouffe Emperor. From no aspect whatever is there sound analogy between the case of Korea and the case of Belgium.

I have been amused recently to see a widely quoted half-humorous extract, torn entirely from its context and atmosphere and purpose, to the effect that Mr. Root favored turning our wards in the Philippines over to the wolves of the world. And over against it the "sound" views of Mr. Taft in opposition! Heaven preserve us! The country has not even asked for a disclaimer. I think I know the kind the people would get if they asked for one. We are not morally relieved from the burden of the Philippines. We took the sovereignty. We assumed the burden. We must discharge it. We are not at liberty to throw it off for any reason whatever unless we are satisfied that somebody succeeds who is competent to administer it. As to its advantage to us, of course any altruistic work performed

by a nation has an advantage. But the advantage in this instance is limited by the indifference and more or less willful ignorance of our people. The more they know about what the earlier and finer administration of the Philippines has accomplished, the sooner shall we return to it, and the better it will be for the Philippines and for the United States.

Elihu Root has a well-nigh infallible instinct in foreign affairs. As for the Presidency, there is no indication that his own personal wish or political judgment points in that direction. The glamour of the Presidency was rubbed off long ago for him, as it was for Roosevelt; but he has no more right to say that under no circumstance would he allow himself to be nominated than has Hughes or Roosevelt or Wilson. No man with judgment or patriotism enough for the job would, in times like these, make such a declaration. If Root should become President, his quality of international insight would have free play. But if, because of his years or other reasons which nobody is able to divine more clearly than he, he is not to be President, there is not the slightest doubt that the public opinion of the country, without limits of party or race or creed, would turn to him in any Administration as the one man with the hand and the brain to guide the Nation safely through the haze and maze of contemporary foreign affairs. The whole country would rise to nominate Elihu Root once more as Secretary of State.

This letter has run along quite far enough, and yet I have not written about the third member of this great trio, Theodore Roosevelt. No matter. It may be that I am going to have an opportunity later on. There is a curious psychological change coming over the United States about him. It is not due chiefly to any lingering threat of the Progressive party organization or of another imminent Progressive revolt. This may have a slight effect with small politicians, but it is not in any sense determining of the change of which I speak. In fact, merely Progressive party agitation, to my mind, hinders rather than helps that change. But up from the grass roots in the political springtime all over the Nation the impulse is rising that Roosevelt is not primarily a great Progressive or a great Republican, but a great American; that, after all, there are circumstances under which nearly all Republicans and many Democrats might come to regard him as pre-eminently the man of the hour in

the Executive chair of the Government at Washington. Again, as in the old days, his very alleged weaknesses seem to a multitude to be only the defects of his tremendous virtues.

Prominent members of the financial and political group who in 1912 were most active in their opposition to him are coming in 1916 to be the leaders of a Roosevelt renaissance. His challenge from Trinidad, that he ought not to be the nominee unless the American people are in a heroic mood, has to those who know him nothing of the vain-glorious in it, and should be pondered at its face value by his fellow-citizens. I have always believed that the vast mass of the honest as well as the superficial and supercilious criticism of Roosevelt would quickly end if there were need of him. But he ought not to go into a Presidential campaign to be sacrificed to a merely recrudescence, volatile admiration for him. Crowds, but not votes. Gaping curiosity, but no substantial conviction that he has been in some matters right for years, while his severest critics have been wrong. It was when the Nation was in a heroic mood, when it was ready to fight against tyranny and corruption and injustice within, that it accepted his leadership in the earlier years of the century. He lost the leadership of majority opinion in the United States when a reaction came and a good deal of the heroism died out of the soul of the country. And he is right in thinking that he is not a fit candidate of the Republican party or the Nation unless the country's fighting idealism comes back.

The world is still governed by the imagination, as Napoleon said. And as yet, half unconsciously, the imagination of the American people is building a programme and a leadership for the coming days. And a greater or less increase of dreadnoughts and submarines and regulars and reserves does not compass the programme. This seems only to be a fringe of the vision. But there must be a Nation integrated, desecationalized, unified, socially organized for efficiency and human welfare, of which an adequate military preparedness shall be the arm but not the soul—a democratic Nationalism functioning powerfully beyond the dream of the fathers, but generously responsive to freedom and the right; a Nationalism of the spirit that must have at the center the motive power of the bravest and the ablest practical

idealism of which the country is possessed. No one living man among us can fulfill that leadership. It must be the product of a great governing group at Washington who are supremely devoted to democracy and the Nation. And the Executive especially needs a power of endurance, a dynamic passion, an experience with the world, and a tried integrity that shall command the respect and confidence of all peoples as well as of the American people. I suppose it is the rising consciousness of the sort of qualities and the

kind of leadership which the United States may require in the immediate future that is strengthening the conviction of a constituency broader than the Republican electorate—a conviction that the demands of a democratic Nationalism may yet require the pre-eminent services of Justice Hughes, in the natural order, as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, of Elihu Root as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and of Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States.

New York, March 21.

A NOTABLE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

SPECIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE OUTLOOK

The reader who will take the trouble to read the following account of the Panama Congress on Christian Work in Latin America will ask no apology from us for the amount of space devoted to the news of a meeting now a month old. For the effects of this meeting are likely to be felt in North, South, and Central America not merely for months but for years to come.

Much is being done in the United States to promote a financial and commercial Pan-Americanism. But there can be no lasting Pan-Americanism that is not based upon a sympathetic understanding and a co-operative solution of the educational and moral problems that are common to all the Americas. In this respect the Panama Congress was a great patriotic assembly.

It may be remembered that before the Congress convened there was some anxious discussion in this country of the fear lest such a meeting in Latin America might not, on the one hand, be regarded as an act of discourtesy to the great Roman Catholic Church, or, on the other, lead to a repression of free Protestant discussion of the problems involved. Both fears, happily, are proved by the actual event to have been groundless. Señor Lefevre, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs of Panama, a devout and sincere Roman Catholic, was a prominent figure of the Congress; and so pleased were the Protestant missionaries in Latin America by the perfect freedom of discussion that they returned to their posts feeling that the Congress had fairly faced the facts in the spirit of genuine Christian harmony. The truth is that the Congress was not in the slightest degree sectarian, but gave itself to the consideration of constructive measures for aiding the Latin-Americans in developing their spiritual life.

The printed reports to which our correspondent refers are noteworthy documents—scientific, full of the fruits of painstaking and original research, and yet thoroughly human. Those on "Education" and "Women's Work," for example, are sociological essays worthy of a scholarly encyclopædia.

Further information about this great Latin-American "survey"—to use a term now much in vogue among sociologists—and lists and prices of the publications issued may be obtained by addressing The Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, 25 Madison Avenue, New York City.—THE EDITORS.

PANAMA will in the future not only stand for the greatest physical accomplishment of man, but will be linked for a long time to come with one of the great spiritual movements of the time. The Congress on Christian Work in Latin America, which met in Panama February 10 to February 20, was one of the most remarkable gatherings ever held on the American continent, with the most representative leaders of the spiritual life of North and Latin Amer-

ica ever assembled, studying with unprecedented carefulness, frankness, and sympathy the educational, social, and religious conditions of the twenty Latin-American republics. The success of the gathering, in the sympathetic spirit displayed, in the light thrown upon the problems under discussion, in the clearing away of difficulties and misunderstandings, in the getting together of men of widely diverging views for a common service, far surpassed the expectations

of its most enthusiastic advocates. Representatives of twenty-two different nations and more than fifty different denominational and interdenominational movements, Latin-Americans, North Americans, and Europeans, discussed together in the frankest way for ten days every angle of these problems and adjourned with one mind, resolved to work with a common programme for the development of the spiritual life of these young, growing nations.

Panama proved to be the place of all places for such a gathering. The crossroads of the nations where men and products of all peoples pass to and fro, the half-way house between North and South America, the scene of the mightiest physical accomplishment of North America and of the greatest single contribution of man to South America, impelled the Congress to think in world terms and plan for the seemingly impossible. The officials of the United States Government in the Canal Zone and those of the Republic of Panama vied with one another in showing courtesies to the Congress. The Minister of Foreign Relations of Panama delivered the address of welcome at the opening session of the Congress, and the Minister of Education presided over a special gathering at the National University, to which he invited the Congress to hear Dr. John R. Mott give an address on "The Religious Significance of the War." Among the many courtesies extended to the Congress by *Tío Samuel*, the Latin-American phrase for "Uncle Sam," was an excursion through Cuiebra Cut on a Government barge, including the most fascinating experience of watching the process of putting a boat through the locks. The official sessions of the Congress were held in the commodious Hotel Tivoli, where most of the delegates were also entertained. This proved to be a most delightful and profitable arrangement, welding the delegates more and more closely together as the Congress proceeded by intimate personal contact in the dining-room, the verandas, the refreshment booths, and around the literature exhibit, which, by the way, was one of the most attractive features of the Congress. Whether mingling informally in these groups or sitting in the sessions of the Congress, one was impressed with the truth of the reply of a newspaper man of large experience in the United States in answering the question of a local correspondent about who were some of the prominent men present, when he said, "Every

delegate here is a prominent man." The number of delegates had been carefully limited, so that there were included only the leaders of the more than fifty different organizations who had been invited to send representatives. Bishops there were everywhere, and so wisely and sympathetically did they enter into the gathering that they seemed to be, as one delegate said, "just folks." Presidents and professors of educational institutions, Government officials, officers of mission boards, heads of great business concerns, authors of notable books, missionaries of nation-wide influence, justices, and engineers, leaders of life in twenty-two different nations, all contributed to make the Congress one of the most notable gatherings of the times.

The representation was about equally divided between Latin America and the rest of the world, there being 149 representatives from the former and 150 from the United States, Canada, England, Spain, and Italy. This did not include 174 accredited visitors from Panama and the Canal Zone representing Government officials and other prominent citizens, and the some sixty hostesses who generously opened their homes to delegates.

At the opening session the Congress was organized as follows:

President: Professor Eduardo Monteverde, University of Montevideo, Uruguay.

Vice-Presidents: Bishop William Cabell Brown, Protestant Episcopal Church of Virginia; the Rev. Eduardo Carlos Pereira, National Presbyterian Church of Brazil; the Rev. A. R. Stark, British and Foreign Bible Society, Chile; Mr. Eben E. Olcott, President Hudson River Day Line, New York.

Chairman of the Congress in Committee: Dr. Robert E. Speer.

Executive Secretary: the Rev. S. G. Inman.

Chairman of Business Committee: Dr. John R. Mott.

The Business Committee of twenty-five (see illustration on another page), representative of the Latin-American leaders, missionaries, and officers of mission boards, acted as a clearing-house for the business of the Congress, and to the long hours of faithful and trying service of its members was due the fact that the Congress itself was freed from discussion of petty details and enabled to give itself to the great questions of principles and strategy. The Committee was peculiarly fortunate in having as its Chairman Dr. John R. Mott, whose wide experience as Chairman of the World Missionary Confer-

ence and its Continuation Committee, as well as countless other important gatherings, was given without stint to the Committee as it faced many most delicate and difficult problems. The Committee sat for protracted periods daily. Much time was given to the preparation of the agenda for commission reports, so as to assure the discussion by the Congress of the most vital questions involved. Its sessions were open to others than members, and when important questions were to be discussed those outside especially interested were invited to be present and give their opinions. The most significant work of the Business Committee was that of framing a resolution, to which further reference will be made later, providing for a committee for the continuation of the work begun by the Congress.

Another means of saving the time of the Congress was that of publishing a daily bulletin, in which were published the minutes of the preceding day, all announcements, and the agenda for the discussion of that day's commission report, avoiding thus the necessity of reading these from the platform. In many other ways it was evident that much study had been given to keeping the machinery of the Congress from intruding itself on the attention of the delegates to the exclusion of the more important and far-reaching business for which the gathering had been assembled.

The initiatory movement for a Latin-American conference began at the World Missionary Conference at Edinburgh in 1910. As missions in Latin America did not come within the purview of that gathering, it was felt by a group of delegates especially interested in Latin America who met together for conference that it would be most advisable to have a conference that should do for Latin America what the Edinburgh Conference was doing so magnificently for the Orient. The first-fruits of this group meeting were seen in the calling of a small conference on missions in Latin America under the auspices of the Foreign Missions Conference of the United States and Canada. The conference, consisting of officials of mission boards and missionaries on furlough from Latin America, met in New York March 12-13, 1913. From a small committee on co-operation in Latin America appointed at that time there grew a large one with representatives from practically all the mission boards doing work in Latin America. It was from

this large committee, representing some thirty mission boards, that the call came for the Panama Congress, and, with the aid of a corresponding British committee, the thorough preparations made for the Congress were carried forward. In pursuance of the committee's decision that the Congress should be a deliberative body, made up only of specially capable leaders, to face the facts of the spiritual life of Latin America, there were appointed more than a year in advance eight commissions to study the subjects of greatest importance, and their reports were to be the basis of discussion at Panama. These commissions were composed of 215 persons, widely representative of Latin America, North America, and Europe, and their exhaustive reports of some one thousand pages of printed matter represent the most thorough study of the higher life of Latin America ever undertaken. The reports, which were in the hands of the delegates for their study before arrival at Panama, will be printed in permanent form, along with the discussions at Panama, in three large volumes for general circulation.

The two great purposes of the Panama Congress were the promotion of friendship and the study of conditions. The former was accomplished most satisfactorily, not only by the associations of the ten days, but in other ways; the latter by the reports of the eight commissions already referred to. The three hundred picked men and women, each a leader of an important enterprise, had come together, not to hear great oratorical efforts, but seriously to consider the scientific investigations of representative groups of experts, and to try, by unhurried council, to find out the meaning of these facts and their challenge to those who regard themselves as their brothers' keepers.

It was the discussion of the commission reports, then, that was the heart of the Panama Congress. One report was taken each day. These voluminous documents, each averaging more than a hundred pages of printed matter, had been printed and sent to the delegates for study before arrival in Panama. The Chairman was allowed thirty minutes at the beginning of the day for the presentation of the most salient features, and fifteen minutes to close the debate at the conclusion of the day. The rest of the morning and afternoon sessions, with the exception of half an hour for a period of intercession, were given to seven-minute addresses of those who had previously sent in cards announcing

their purpose to speak. As the Chairman announced the immediate speaker he also called the name of the following one, who came to the platform and was ready to begin immediately on the sound of the inexorable buzzer which insistently notified each speaker that his time had expired. This system served most advantageously in giving uniform treatment to all, in encouraging each speaker to prepare carefully what he was to say, and to "get down to business" immediately, leaving out all irrelevant references, and to have the maximum number take part without excluding the really important in the contribution of each. In order, however, absolutely to assure each delegate that there was perfect liberty of expression and no disposition whatever to limit any one in speaking his whole mind, Chairman Speer several times during the discussion of the most vital questions put aside the cards and the buzzer and announced that any one was free to rise in his seat and frankly express his feeling. This invitation was freely accepted, but a unity of spirit so restrained all that not once, even in the heat of discussion, was there a violation of the announced principle of the Congress that, "while frankly facing moral and spiritual conditions," our approach should be "neither critical nor antagonistic, but inspired by the teachings and example of Christ and that charity which thinketh no evil and rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth." No doubt the attainment of this spirit was due in a large way to the Chairman, Dr. Robert E. Speer, who presided over these daily discussions with persuasive fairness. His travels in Latin America, his study of its life for long years, and his personal acquaintance with the large majority of Latin-American workers, gave him the background so necessary for the task.

A devotional half-hour came at the close of each morning session. Those who were selected months before for conducting these services were among the men recognized as the great spiritual leaders, such as Bishop Lloyd, of the Episcopal Church; Bishop Oldham and Bishop Lambuth, of the Methodist Church; President King, of Oberlin; President McLean, of the Foreign Christian Missionary Society; and Dr. de Schweinitz, of the Moravian Church.

The night sessions of the Congress were given to the addresses of such great themes as "The Common Ideals of Anglo-Saxons

and Latins," "The Power of the Bible in the Life of Individuals and Nations," "The Principles and Spirit of Jesus Essential to Meet the Social Needs of Our Times," "The Claims of Christ on Thinking Men," "The Contributions of Latin America to the Higher Life of Humanity," "The Place and Influence of Womanhood in Latin America," one well-known speaker from Latin America and one Anglo-Saxon generally speaking each evening. Among these speakers were Professor Eduardo Monteverde, of the University of Montevideo; Professor Erasmo Braga, of the State University of São Paulo; Señorita Juana Palacios, Director of Primary Instruction, Mexico City; Miss Ruth Rouse, of England; Bishop Lucien Lee Kinsolving, of Brazil; Bishop Homer C. Stuntz, of Argentina; the Rev. A. R. Stark, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Santiago; President Charles T. Paul, of Indianapolis; Dr. John F. Goucher, of Baltimore. Two of the most significant addresses of the night sessions, especially because they came from men not members of the evangelical Church, were given by his Excellency Señor Lefevre, Minister of Foreign Relations of the Republic of Panama, and the Hon. Emilio del Toro, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of Porto Rico. Señor Lefevre said:

I desire to welcome you, not because of the formalities of etiquette, but because I wish with all sincerity to contribute to the success of meetings like these which help to bring to my country elements of the highest civilization to which all good citizens aspire.

The Constitution of the Republic of Panama gives ample guarantees of liberty of conscience. As a proof of this and because our Government fervently desires to create a feeling of tolerance in the Republic, I have not hesitated to accept your kind invitation and to proffer a genuine welcome, although I am a sincere and devout Catholic.

Your purpose is to unify the moral and religious forces of America. For this reason and with great foresight you have selected for this Congress the soil of Panama, as a central point from which its influences will widely radiate.

With all the respect and consideration which is due to such a gathering as this, I take great pleasure in saluting you in the name of the Government of Panama, and wish for you all success in your mission.

At no time was the Congress more profoundly impressed with the spiritual challenge of Latin America than during the remarkable address of Judge del Toro, who, although not a member of an evangelical Church, came

to the Congress at his own charges to appeal to the evangelical forces which he felt it must have if it was to develop its latent spiritual powers. Speaking in the beautiful, modulating tones of the Castilian, he showed by reviewing the history of Latin America how the democratic ideas of the Gospel had been denied her, and thought their introduction would mean struggle; yet it was only by such struggle of conscience that a complete national character would be forged. This appeal of Judge del Toro seemed to typify the appeal that is coming from educated leaders all over Latin America who have lost faith in the state Church and are earnestly longing for the coming of a new religion which shall champion education, vitalize national and personal life, and furnish power for the fighting of those ethical battles which are pressing so hard in all parts of Latin America. "I have listened," he said, "during these days to the voice of America expressed in three languages. Its vast territory, its many races, its complicated problems, have passed through my imagination and my conscience many times, and always at the close of my meditations there shone with brighter light the words of Jesus: 'But I say unto you, Love your enemies. Be perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.'" "The labor of implanting this doctrine is great," continued Judge del Toro. "It means not only preaching but living the Gospel, planting schools where children can be taught and universities where those who scale the heights of science, arts, and letters may preserve the humility of Christians and use their privileges for the good of their brethren. Withal there must be Christian literature in Spanish and Portuguese to lead child and adult into the living principles of Christ. May God illumine your hearts and minds for this great task!"

Aside from the official meetings of the Congress a great number of services were held in the churches, halls, club-houses, and military posts in Panama City, Colon, and all along the fifty-mile line of the Canal. Parallel meetings were held each night in Panama at the Union American Church, the Seawall Methodist Church, the Wesleyan Church, and the National Baptist Church. No church on Fifth Avenue, New York, ever had a week of greater speakers than did one of these little churches in Panama. On the Sunday the Congress was in session the delegates addressed more than seventy services in Panama, Colon, and intermediate

points. The whole Isthmus was profoundly affected by this combined message from the greatest religious leaders of the two continents. Not even at the Edinburgh Conference was such a comprehensive plan carried out to give the general public opportunity to hear the great religious leaders attending the Congress. At one service at an army post Dr. Robert E. Speer addressed an audience of fifteen hundred soldiers. The spirit of helpfulness and unity of welcome displayed at all times by the citizens of the Canal Zone and Panama was nowhere more prominently manifested than in connection with these meetings. The Panama Railroad gave passes to all speakers traveling on its lines. Automobiles, coaches, and personal guides helped others. No end of effort was spent in advertising speakers, opening halls, and arranging in the best way for the comfort of speakers and the crowds that attended these gatherings.

The community's interest in the Congress was further shown in the large space given by the two daily papers to reporting its proceedings. At first there was an evident air of suspicion, and it looked as though the Congress would receive scarcely any notice. The representative character of the Congress and its constructive purposes soon began to be understood, and from a few paragraphs at first the English daily gradually came, in the last few days, to give some three pages to the Congress. The Spanish daily published in full the basis of the Congress and answered editorially an anonymous pamphlet attacking the Congress that was circulated in the streets, saying that it was not the work of a Panamanian and that the author should be expelled as a pernicious foreigner.

What was accomplished at Panama? Darling would be the attempt to catalogue the results of such a many-sided gathering. But at least the following may be mentioned:

First, the most comprehensive survey of the social, educational, and religious conditions of Latin America ever attempted was presented through the commission reports and the ten days' discussions of the Congress.

Second, this survey unquestionably showed that the existing moral and spiritual life of these young nations demands help from the outside for its proper development, and that the Latin-Americans, far from resenting such help, earnestly welcome its coming through evangelical missionary agencies.

Third, the high quality of the Latin-American delegates to the Congress and their

constructive contribution to every phase of the gathering demonstrated the power of Latin America to furnish the highest kind of leadership for the world's spiritual life when given the proper opportunities for its development.

Fourth, it proved conclusively that the greatest impelling force to bring men of different nations and different creeds together is not uniformity of belief but the burden of great tasks. The remarkable unity of the Congress was due to its facing of human need, and this unity was threatened only when its attention was turned from the need by a suggestion that it define itself by dogmatic statement. The facing of the overwhelming need of Latin America brought the unanimous decision to continue the work of the Congress in the future by uniting in a permanent "Committee on Co-operation in Latin America" to give effect to as many of the plans suggested at Panama as seems practical.

Fifth, it was demonstrated (a) that the spirit of Christ can so sway men that it is possible for those of such different inheritances and diverging prejudices as Anglo-Saxons and Latins to sit down together and discuss with perfect frankness the most intimate phases of their individual and national life in such a way as to come to an ever-increasing regard for one another and agreement as to the solution of their problems; (b) that Protestant Christianity has developed to the point where it can meet in a Roman Catholic country and discuss frankly the religious problems of lands predominantly

Roman Catholic in such a spirit of fairness and humility, and withal fearlessness, as to commend itself to fair-minded men of all creeds and to contribute in a noteworthy way to the binding together of the divergent and often warring elements of such a polyglot community as Panama.

The carrying forward of the work done by the Congress was intrusted to the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, under whose auspices the Congress was held. This Committee is to be enlarged and reconstructed so as to consist of an American and a European section, composed of one representative from each mission agency sending missionaries to Latin America, and a number of co-opted members. The chairmen and secretaries of committees or councils representing missions on the fields are to be *ex officio* members also.

The American section of this Committee was organized at the close of the Congress at Panama, with Robert E. Speer as Chairman and S. G. Inman as Executive Secretary. So great was the enthusiasm manifested for the co-operative work to be done by this Committee that the first year's budget was subscribed by a few of the delegates at Panama without any public appeal for aid.

While the functions of the Committee will be purely consultative and advisory, it will be able to render large service to mission boards in co-ordinating their present work and outlining not only a larger but a much more effective spiritual service for Latin America.

Panama, February, 1916.

S. G. INMAN.

THE NATIONS AT WAR

PRISONERS OF WAR IN RUSSIA

BY GREGORY MASON

This is the ninth of the series of articles by Mr. Mason, of the editorial staff of The Outlook, resulting from his experiences as special correspondent of The Outlook in Russia.—THE EDITORS.

AN admiring audience was giving its rapt attention to the tale of the Seven Who Escaped, as Ivan Karaloff, the big Cossack lancer, told it. Karaloff, whose high-cheeked Tartar face vibrated with excitement, had become the tacitly appointed leader of the Seven by the native force of his vital personality. Few men had escaped from Germany's well-guarded pris-

ons, and most of those that had done so had broken out of prisons near the front, to skulk eastward and lie in some barn or bush within the very range of the Russian guns till a lucky charge of a Muscovite advance party gave the hidden ones a chance to get back among friends. But to sneak through the very heart of Germany and get out across the Dutch border—ah, that was a man's feat!

Fully conscious of the admiring glances directed at him from the shadows beyond the circle of the big table in Shatsky's restaurant, where he and the other six were sitting, Karaloff told the story spasmodically. At each pause he turned his round, close-cropped head on his majestic shoulders, his commanding eyes blazing at the adulation which he found in the periphery of faces under the half-light of the hanging lamps of this dirty third-class restaurant. He had the Atlantean shoulders, waspish waist, and full hips of the perfect male Cossack figure. There was not a hanging fold of fat on him, which explained his reputation as an Adonis among the Cossack women, who shun a fat man as American women shun a chronic drunkard.

"For weeks we seven planned it," Karaloff said, with slow dignity, when quiet had been restored after the storm of indignation that had stopped my attempt to crank up the tall musical cabinet, with a colored photograph of Caucasian waterfalls in a glass panel, that stood against one wall, as one stands in every Russian restaurant.

"With small sticks by degrees we dug a hole under the wall, covering the hole with rubbish always when we heard a guard coming.

"One black, rainy night we tried it. I went first, but was too big for the hole. For fifteen minutes we dug hard. Then I squeezed through. The other six followed." He swung his arm in a circle above his companions, who nodded in confirmation.

The Cossack gulped some hot tea, lemon-flavored, caressed the twin black tusks of his mustache, and began to talk faster.

"We only knew that we were somewhere in Galicia. It was raining hard. We had no extra clothes, no food at all, and no matches. None of us could speak German. But I had a piece of a map no bigger than my hand.

"We traveled all that night and slept in a barn through the day.

"The following night, tortured by hunger, we killed a steer, cutting its throat with a small knife I had smuggled out of prison. We thought its bellowings would wake the countryside. But we were on the edge of a wood, far from any house. Dragging the beast into the bushes, we made a fire with some matches we had taken from the pocket of a drunken soldier, a straggler that we found lying in a ditch the night before.

"Oh, how delicious was the sticky warm blood and half-roasted flesh of that animal!

"So we walked at night, hiding by day, not daring to speak to any one, because we knew no German. Always we had tried to go northwestward, traveling by the stars, for we knew that the Russians were retreating, and that it would be useless to go toward the front. Finally, after many weeks, we became so feeble that we fell as we walked; and could hold out no longer. Six of us lay in some bushes at dawn, and Maxim here [indicating the smallest and weakest-looking of the seven], who looks like an Austrian, stumbled out of the thicket when we saw a peasant driving three cows up the road. Approaching the man, Maxim spoke the only German word we knew:

"*'Deutsch!'*"

"The peasant shook his head with anger. We were not in Germany. We were in Holland. We were saved!"

A buzz of applause shut out the rattle of hailstones on the windows as two pale Polish girls refilled the glasses which are used instead of the effeminate cup when men drink tea in Russia. A wizened little fellow, something of a figure in Petrograd as a municipal politician, who was treating the crowd to the hot amber beverage, pushed his way to the edge of the table opposite the mountainous Cossack, whose face held more dancing life in it than any face I have ever seen.

"But now you go back to fight again?" asked the pompous little tea-buyer.

"Certainly; that is my life-work."

"But you may be captured once more."

Karaloff snatched his long, curved dagger, such as Cossacks carry, from the table, and in its sheaf drew it quickly across his throat.

"No more German prisons for me," he bellowed; and the other six echoed, "No more German prisons for us."

The path out of prison which that night in Shatsky's restaurant the big Cossack told us he would take if ever captured again more than one Russian soldier in German or Austrian prisons has followed. So has more than one German or Austrian prisoner in Russian prisons. To say this is not necessarily to indict the prisons.

After the excitement of the trenches under fire, the insane exaltation of the charge, and the cool fury of standing at the loopholes and mowing down your charging enemies, the monotonous inactivity of the prison is maddening, particularly if you are in a stinking hospital prison with the groaning wounded all about you, the horror of gangrene, and the

torture of vermin. Many wounded prisoners beg to be killed, and when not closely watched many kill themselves. And for those that are well, except those that are given the privilege of working, three meals a day of unchanging food are almost the only events that break the tedious procession of hours. An occasional letter from home or a begged cigarette are mile-posts to be counted.

"Ask America to send us a ton of tobacco," said A. C. Harte, Secretary of the International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, when I asked him how I could help him help the prisoners. The American Young Men's Christian Association is doing a splendid work among all the war prisons of Europe. It is building baths, reading-rooms, and gymnasiums for the war prisoners, and seeing to it that the clothes, food, candy, tobacco, letters, and other good things sent to them from home are delivered. It has also been instrumental in inducing several governments to vote money for the aid of their imprisoned soldiers in hostile countries, which the Young Men's Christian Association directs to the use for which it was appropriated. For more than a year Mr. Harte has been going back and forth between the war prisons of Russia and the war prisons in Germany and Austria, and he probably knows more about them than any other neutral citizen.

"The needs of the prisoners are bread, sugar, tea, tobacco, and shirts," Mr. Harte told me, "but most of all they seem to want tobacco. I've seen men give up bread to get a cigarette, and the look of heaven which comes over a prisoner's face when you give him a smoke is pathetic. Send us a ton of tobacco."

I was not permitted to visit a war prison in Russia, but I talked with Austrian prisoners who were working on the railway between Archangel and Petrograd, and with men who had escaped from a German prison. I also talked with agents of our Government who had made a special study of Russia's prisons, including Mr. H. H. D. Pierce, special Minister Plenipotentiary to Russia, in charge of our prison inspectors there, and with representatives of the Young Men's Christian Association who have seen most of the principal prisons in Russia, Austria, and Germany. I think, therefore, that the following account of conditions in the war prisons is approximately authoritative and accurate.

In spite of the stories of cruelties in Ger-

man prisons that have reached this country, it was the testimony of Mr. Harte that he had found that "the German, Austrian, and Russian Governments all intend to be kind and just in the treatment of prisoners." Of course there have been individual cases of insufficient food and clothing, and, in some cases, perhaps even cruelty. According to Mr. Harte, up to November last Germany claimed 1,500,000 prisoners, and probably had 1,200,000; Austria claimed 1,000,000, and had about 800,000; Russia claimed 1,000,000, and had about 750,000. If the average number of captures during the first fifteen months of the war has been maintained during the past four months, that would mean that Germany has now about 1,520,000 prisoners, Austria 1,013,332, and Russia 950,000. Of course in the German and Austrian figures are included prisoners of all nationalities—French, English, Italian, etc., as well as Russian. To continue to play with figures (an interesting if somewhat dangerous pastime), we see that since the beginning of the war the Germanic allies, exclusive of Turkey and Bulgaria, have captured about 2,533,332 of their enemies, which is a rate of about 133,333 a month, or 4,444 men captured every day. Russia alone has taken 50,000 prisoners a month, or 1,666 a day. It would be interesting if we had the approximate totals for all the Allies. Perhaps they have captured rather fewer men than their enemies, for it is believed that the Teutons have "out-captured" the Slavs, and that they have about "broken even" with their other foes.

In spite of the rumors of starvation in prisons, it can be said on good authority that, with perhaps a few rare exceptions, the inmates of both Slavic and Teutonic prisons get enough to eat. That does not mean that they get as much as some men might like to eat, but they get all that is necessary to keep the average man alive and well. The German prison menu, scientifically determined by one of the Fatherland's leading chemists as enough to keep life and health together, consists of 300 grammes of bread daily, to be eaten as the prisoner chooses, a can of weak coffee for breakfast, a liter (slightly over a quart) of thick soup for lunch, and a half-liter of the same concoction for dinner. The Russian fare is about the same, except that it contains a little more meat, the German soup consisting principally of potatoes. Russia gives her prisoners exactly the

same food that she gives her soldiers, except that the latter get a pound more of bread daily than the former—a fair enough discrimination, as the soldier burns up more energy *per diem* than the prisoner. Each prisoner in Russia gets at noon a half-pound of meat in the form of thick, chunky soup. At night he gets a quarter-pound of meat in the same way, two pounds of black bread, and *kasha*, frequently *ad lib*. *Kasha* is buckwheat cooked from six to eight hours in water and then mixed with fat and a little onion. It is delicious, and is eaten by all classes in Russia. Of course the prisoner in Russia does not eat all his bread and *kasha* in the evening when it is given to him, but saves some of it for the following day. The food for Russia's captives is prepared by the same cook who prepares the food of their soldier guards—it is, in fact, the same food.

Germany's food bill for her prisoners is upwards of 750,000 marks (about \$187,500) a day, and during the first fifteen months of the war she spent 350,000,000 marks to feed the men her soldiers had taken. Of course the expense of her prison boarding-houses is increasing every day. During the first part of the war there was a disposition on the part of some of Germany's citizens to begrudge the prisoners their food, and a few public protests were made, but that feeling has died out entirely. In the first place, Germans fear starvation no longer; and, in the second place, they realize that Germany's unusually large crops in 1915 were made possible by prison labor.

Both the Russian and the Austro-German prisoners are supposed to get a coat, a pair of trousers, two pairs of underdrawers, and two pairs of socks apiece when they enter captivity, but as a matter of fact they do not always get them. As a rule, the soldiers who are captured are allowed to wear their hostile uniforms until worn out. Many prisoners in both Teuton and Slav prisons have no shirts under their coats, while others have no coats over their shirts.

The usual prison building is rather more dismal, dingy, and generally uncomfortable than a run-down army barracks. When Mr. Harte reached Europe in January, 1915, he built three small houses—all that the funds then at his disposal would permit. The Young Men's Christian Association has since, however, put up a number of barracks, and they are model structures, one hundred feet by thirty; they contain one large sleeping and living room, seventy feet by thirty, and three small rooms for reading, study, and recreation.

Having found the American Young Men's Christian Association trustworthy, the European Governments are beginning to give practical proof of their confidence in the American organization. Germany has appropriated 150,000 marks for Mr. Harte to spend as he pleases for the benefit of German prisoners in Russia, and the Czar's Government has granted 50,000 rubles for the Young Men's Christian Association to devote to its work among Russian prisoners in Germany and Austria. Half a million dollars will be enough to enable the Young Men's Christian Association to carry on all the work it is planning among the war prisons of Europe for several months to come. Mr. Harte told me. But, in addition to trying to raise this fund, Mr. Harte is anxious to get twenty thousand Americans who will each write an occasional letter and send a package of good things to some prisoner who will be appointed as their correspondent.

The personal touch, the feeling that some one outside the prison barriers is interested in him, counts for a lot with every prisoner. This lends great importance to the efforts the American Young Men's Christian Association is making to facilitate the delivery of the prison mails—in fact, the Young Men's Christian Association has become a sort of postal clearing-house. Every time that Mr. Harte or any of his assistants goes from Russia to Germany or *vice versa*, a trip which is made every month or two, many sacks of letters are carried to men in foreign prisons from their relatives and friends at home.

To keep the prisoners healthy in mind by giving them entertainment and a little human sympathy, and to keep them healthy in body by providing work for all who are able to work, are the aims of the Young Men's Christian Association. Hence the importance of the workshops that the Young Men's Christian Association is installing in prisons. The captives build their own barracks and their own furniture, and many of them have become very efficient at the textile and carving trades. The carpets woven by English officers and the wooden utensils and objects of art carved by the Russian soldiers are becoming famous in Europe!

On the whole, Germany treats her prisoners more efficiently, but less kindly, than Austria and Russia. She gives them more work to do, however, using them both in agriculture and in road-building.

Russia utilizes little of the potential indus-

trial energy which fills her military prisons—a great mistake on her part. Only a few thousand captives in Russia have been used to work on the roads and railways of the Empire. Most of the Russian war prisoners are in Siberia, where the need of wagon roads as freight feeders to the Trans-Siberian Railway is great. In the winter a sledge going from one little settlement to another simply follows the track of the last sledge that has gone that way, or makes a new trail if a fresh snowfall has obliterated the old. In Siberia, as in parts of European Russia, there is what is called “the roadless season.” This comes in both spring and fall, when for two or three weeks at a time traffic is impossible over the muddy, undrained wagon trails, and villages are cut off from each other and from the outer world. Transportation certainly is civilization in vast, inaccessible Russia, and the construction of plenty of good roads would be a direct step toward raising the whole standard of life and civilization in thousands of Russian villages. Convention V, Article VI, of the Hague Convention permits prisoners of war to be used in non-military labor. Such a use of Russia’s million prisoners would make both them and Russia healthier, happier, and wealthier. Colonel Gilovatsky, in charge of the prison camp at Razdolnoi, using four thousand men for a few weeks, has proved what fine roads prisoners can make. But if the Russian Government does not wish to utilize this tremendous reservoir of labor to repair some of the damage wrought by war and to assist in the improvement of Russia’s industrial future, at least the great reserve of labor might be lent to private industries, mining companies, etc., which would be glad to contract for it on a fair basis.

Thus far, to the small extent that Russia has utilized the labor of her prisoners at all, the Austrians have been favored more than the Germans. This is because many of the Austrians are Slavs who have a smattering of Russian or Polish and can manage to make themselves understood. But in no other way is there any discrimination among the different races and nationalities in Russia’s prisons. In nearly all the prisons, however, distinctions are made in the treatment of captive officers and captive men.

Wherever it is possible, the officers are segregated from the rank and file, and in some camps the more intelligent and more cultured soldiers are separated from the lower peasant types. In some camps, too, the

officers are permitted to retain their shoulder-straps or to wear some other sign of their rank. This usually works well; it enables the officers to keep the respect of their men and encourages them to co-operate with the prison guards in maintaining discipline.

The prison camps of Russia vary much in size, appearance, and comfort. They range in size from very small settlements, such as the one at Bielgorod, where eleven Austrian officers share three large rooms in a private house and are allowed to exercise on the grounds under guard, to one or two of the larger Siberian camps, which are cities in themselves, containing as many as thirty thousand prisoners. In many instances the military barracks throughout Russia that have been vacated when garrisons have been called to the front are filled up with the men whom those garrisons and other Russian soldiers have captured. One prison in Siberia is in a church, and at Alchevskol an old circus harbors five hundred men in the winter. A stove in the center of the single ring radiates heat toward the shelves built over the terraced seats where the prisoners sleep. But the Russians believe that this is going to be a long war, and they are making provisions to handle a million or two lodgers for two or three years. The barracks of board and brick are found to be colder than houses with walls of earth, and a new type of dwelling is being constructed at many of the prison camps throughout Siberia. Excavations are made to a depth of five or six feet. The solid earth banks about the excavation are then used as the walls of the house, being extended in height a few feet with planking or bricking in which windows are cut. The roof is of logs or planks covered with sods. Given a brick stove in such a house, men can laugh at the long-fanged winters of Siberia.

In all the Russian camps the prisoners get an hour or two of exercise a day under guard, and in some much more. In all they have at least one bath every two weeks, in many they get one bath a week, and in some camps where water is plenty they can bathe to their hearts’ content.

The corps of investigators in charge of Mr. Pierce, specially appointed by the United States Government to look into conditions in Russian war prisons, reports a widely varying state of affairs. Some of the prisons are admirable, like the camp of five thousand at Mokentiafskia, in Siberia, in charge of Colonel Rostovstoff, who has the barracks washed

out three times a day, once with bichloride of mercury. In a few buildings where men are packed in tightly, lying on shelves built one above another like the "joy beds" in an opium den, our investigators report a condition of things "hardly tolerable." But most of the prisons are at least tolerable, and the bad ones are being supplanted by sanitary camps as rapidly as possible. The prisoners complain much more often of the non-delivery of letters from home than they do of bad ventilation or bad food. They are permitted to have their own organizations for pleasure, several prisons have their own orchestras, and the officers quartered in private houses in Tomsk are allowed to play tennis and enjoy other outdoor sports.

As an instance of the newly found efficiency with which the Russian Government is learning to handle the huge task of prison administration, consider the case of the big camp at Nikolsk-Ussurick. Each of the twenty-two one-story brick dormitories was criminally crowded with a thousand men. Clothes were washed in mud puddles, decayed fish was served as food. At the beginning of last summer in the camp were a thousand cases of scurvy and several hundred cases of typhus. Then the chief administrators of the war prisons and the American investigators heard of it, the Russians acted with unusual celerity, and by the end of the summer both diseases had been stamped out.

The prisoners differ much in their attitude toward their captors and their environment. While the train on which I was traveling from Archangel to Vologda stopped to permit the passengers to patronize a restaurant which furnished bad food at high prices, with a fellow-traveler, a Russian official, I walked up the tracks a few yards to where a knot of Austrian prisoners were busy laying the standard-gauge track that was to replace the narrow-gauge one then on that line. One of the Austrians had once been a textile worker in Paterson, New Jersey. We fell to talking, and it was strange in the crisp air of that morning near the Arctic Circle to hear him recall the events of the long and hard-fought textile strike of 1913 and to hear the bitterness which he still cherished against the Paterson Chief of Police.

"I leave America after the strike and never more will I go back. Not to Austria, neither. This country suits me. After the war I stay in Russia."

Quite different were the feelings and viewpoint of one of six non-commissioned Aus-

trian officers who shared two rooms in a large private house in Polnoff. This man was allowed the entire freedom of the garden and courtyard around the house, and for an hour a day he was permitted to walk unguarded on the main street of the town, which ran before the house in which he lived.

"How are you getting on, Sergeant —?" asked one of the prison investigators attached to the American Embassy.

"Rotten!" answered the Austrian, in good English.

"What's the matter? Isn't your food all right?"

"Oh, the food's all right, but every time I take my promenade on this beastly street I get my boots muddy."

Yet this was the very street on which the *Nachalnik* (Mayor), *Ispravnik* (Chief of Police), and other town dignitaries paraded with their wives and sweethearts on holidays!

The Russians, of course, are loth to talk about the escapes and attempted escapes from their prisons. Two officers in the private house at Bielgorod, to which I have already referred, got away from their guards, but were caught as they jumped aboard a train. Eleven officers escaped from Razdolnoi and crossed the Chinese frontier. At once a high palisade was built around the recreation ground at that camp, but there have been many escapes from other prisons near the border of China.

Russia and Germany have an agreement for the exchange of all prisoners who have been so badly injured that they are unfit for military service. The men are sent back and forth by way of the Scandinavian countries, crossing the Russian border at Tornea, Finland, where they are ferried across the river or dragged over it on the ice to Haparanda, Sweden, where they are again entrained.

I was standing on the platform of the little Haparanda station one of those still nights of crushing cold which the Swedes love. The sky was moonless, but the glow of the bright Arctic stars in the level mirror of fresh, hard snow illumined every detail of the landscape. A freshly filled train of German wounded was pushed into the station from a siding by a puffing one-lunged yard engine. In spite of the cold which froze the breath on his Kaiser-cut mustache when he opened the car window, a one-legged German private leaned out into the vibrant night and called to me in my own language.

"You English?" he asked.

"No, American," I replied.

"America for Deutschland?"

"No, no; not at all," I answered, with an emphatic gesture. A look of disappointment came into his broad, pleasantly animal face. But as I was about to explain that America's unfriendliness was for the German Government, not for the German people, the wheezy little engine pushed away the hospital train with its windows full of bandaged heads and its wake redolent of carbolic.

Who knows what thoughts that man had as he traveled back to the Fatherland through Sweden, where many among the masses are anti-German in this war, and through Denmark, where both masses and classes are pro-Ally? Is it not possible, even likely, that he and some of his fellows had an occasional glimpse of the issues of this war as they are seen by most persons whose eyes are not dimmed by the veil of prejudice and warped patriotism which the German Government draws before the gaze of its people?

Is it not possible that even the Russian prisoners in Germany, having time to reflect, to read, or to learn to read, and having had the advantage of more travel than the average *muzhik* gets in a lifetime, are preparing themselves to be the sort of citizens that will no longer brook a corrupt bureaucracy in

their own Government, to be citizens of the newer, better, more enlightened Russia that is coming with slow but unrelenting tread?

While this war lasts, throughout Europe there will be several million men in exile from their native lands. Time is heavy on their hands. Most of them are men of little education, but men who want to make that little more. The agents of the Young Men's Christian Association who go among the prisoners of war report an insatiable craving for magazines, books, and particularly for the classics—Shakespeare, Goethe, Tolstoy, Thackeray, Molière, Dumas—in French, English, Italian, Russian, or German.

A friend of mine who spent a year in an American prison for a semi-political offense says it was the best year of his life. He did more reading, more thinking, his mind matured and crystallized more, during that year in a cell than during any two free years of his life. Anything that can be done to sharpen the intellect, strengthen the spirit, and widen the view-point of the millions of men, mostly poorly educated or uneducated, who are prisoners of war, is a step toward the regeneration of Europe, toward the democratization of the world. It may be the principal constructive phase of a war in which the participants are all immediately bent on destruction.

HELPING IRELAND TO HELP HERSELF

BY THE MARCHIONESS OF ABERDEEN AND TEMAIR

In response to a request from the editors of The Outlook, Lady Aberdeen tells here the story of what Ireland is doing to rebuild her cities in accordance with modern demands and to give the little children of Ireland a better chance for life, health, and happiness. Ireland's problems are largely the same as those which every country under modern conditions has to solve, and in what Ireland is doing Americans can not only help but can also find some ideas for the rebuilding of American cities and the renewing of American life.

Though Lord and Lady Aberdeen are as keen in their advocacy of Ireland's cause as if their interest were born of yesterday, their concern in Irish affairs has been of thirty years' duration. This article is a reply to questions from the editors of The Outlook as to how Lord and Lady Aberdeen first became identified with Ireland, what the special problems of Ireland are to-day, and what people here in America can do to help.—THE EDITORS.

LORD ABERDEEN first became Viceroy of Ireland in 1836. It came very unexpectedly, as we had never had anything to do with Ireland. On my mother's side I am largely Irish, but I had never been there at all, and never thought of going there.

After it was decided that we were to go to Ireland only a fortnight was available for preparation. During that fortnight of preparation there was an absolutely yellow fog in London. We had to make all our preparations within this time. We knew practically nobody in

Ireland, and we were very, very doubtful as to how we should get on there. It was only four years after the Phoenix Park tragedy, and the political atmosphere was still very uncertain. Well, we crossed the Channel by night, and steamed into Dublin Bay in the morning, in the most glorious sunshine. Our four children were with us, and they were very much excited. They were dressed in white, and were immensely delighted with the whole show, and as the state procession moved through the city they waved and kissed their hands. The Irish love children, and so our children paved the way very much for us.

The industrial movement then came into play. We found a great many scattered home industries, which were developed into a collection of industries such as people had not dreamed of. We put a notice in the papers that any one who had things they would like to show might apply. I visited schools, convents, etc., in connection with this work. There were a number of small lace industries started after the famine. Many of them had no regular way of reaching the markets. Each was trying to do what it could in its own way.

So the Irish Industries Association was formed in order to try to help to improve and develop these industries, to find a market for them, and to make them known. Of course Mr. Gladstone's Government was in power for only a very short time, and we then left Ireland. Should we go on with our project? President Sullivan, of Queen's University, Cork, and Sir Robert Hamilton, a very remarkable man, Under-Secretary in the Irish Government and one of the originators of the Home Rule movement, said, "By all means try to get your plan started." We communicated with every sort of person of all different churches and creeds about it, and it was really very delightful to find out how ready they were to work together over this.

From that time, although we did not go back to Ireland officially until twenty years later, I was a great deal there, working at these industries in the meantime.

When we came back to Ireland, in 1906, the industrial movement had taken altogether a different position. A number of associations had been formed to deal with it, and there had been improvement, not only in the relations between England and Ireland, but also in the economic development of Ireland itself. Sir Horace Plunkett took the

lead in the movement which brought about the formation of a new Government Department for Agriculture and Technical Instruction. The Land Purchase Acts were gradually solving the long-standing land problem. Meantime the housing conditions in the Irish cities remained untouched. As to the public health, the Registrar-General pointed out figures with regard to tuberculosis to the effect that in 1864 Ireland stood better than either England or Scotland. By 1906 this was reversed. In the other two countries conditions had been bettered, whereas in Ireland comparatively little had been done. During all those years there was the emigration to America also, which was draining the country of its young life. Here was a really serious condition. The tendency of tuberculosis was to increase rather than to decrease. As in America, one reason for the growth of tuberculosis in Ireland, notably in Belfast and also in Dublin, was the congested condition of the people in the cities. The poor from the country districts coming into the city to be relieved were always accentuating the conditions in Dublin. In Belfast the congestion of population was due to the factories and to rapid growth.

The economic problem of Ireland had been changing from a rural problem to a city problem. What was to be done? There had been an association—a branch of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis—but it had not done much. It was then decided to start this women's association, with the idea of appealing specially to women. This organization, actually started in 1907, was called the Women's National Health Association of Ireland. The first idea was to deal purely with tuberculosis, but the plan was afterwards made to include the general health. Among the health problems which engage the consideration of the Association are stamping out tuberculosis, combating the causes of infant mortality, providing for a proper milk supply, advocating the movement for better housing, spreading the knowledge and practice of health principles in the home, promoting school hygiene, and developing healthful recreation. Take tuberculosis, for instance; this question received a quick response. The Irish people are quick to seize an idea. If they once see that it is a good thing, they promptly take it up. This public education campaign, by which means America accomplishes so many useful social reforms, just suited the people. Although

we were working through the Women's Association, it was an appeal to the people generally, on the ground that this was their business. The Association is made up mainly of Irish women, but men may belong. It is an Irish movement for Ireland. It includes people representing all parties and churches and classes. This is a great point. Exhibitions were sent all over Ireland, and wherever they visited a branch association was formed.

Another object is to save Irish babies that would otherwise die for lack of proper conditions of life. The health condition of babies throughout Ireland in the country districts is comparatively good, and that helps to keep down the death rate for Ireland as a whole; but the conditions in the cities are hard on the babies, because the cities have grown under such conditions that there is a lack of proper houses for the people—even for those who can afford to pay for good houses.

It is very hard for a workingman to have a suitable house for himself, even though he can afford to rent one. And this man is helpless by himself; he cannot make the houses himself, but must depend upon a general movement to improve the whole housing conditions. Such a movement is one of the things that the Women's National Health Association is trying to support and promote. Through their initiative the Housing and Town Planning Association of Ireland was formed. Subsequently the Municipal Authorities' Association started, all these associations working in very close relations with each other for civic purposes.

The housing business was brought rather to a climax in the autumn of 1913 by the sudden collapse of one of the old streets in Dublin. This brought the matter to the attention of the public, for the whole side of the street fell down, houses and all, showing the dilapidated condition of a large part of Dublin. In this collapse there was some loss of life. There was a great outcry everywhere, even the papers of other countries taking the matter up. An official committee was appointed to inquire into the housing of Dublin, and also of other towns in Ireland. That report showed how helpless everybody was on account of the large scale of the problem. It was estimated that four million pounds sterling was required for Dublin alone. Government help must be forthcoming to relieve the urban situation, and this was promised on somewhat the same lines as that given to the rural communities.

For the work in the rural sections the British Government advances money for the building of farm laborers' cottages and also for occupiers' houses. This work is done through the rural local authorities, and has to be paid back by them spread over sixty-five years. The Government extends credit to the local authorities in Ireland. Ireland, with the help of the credit of the British Government, has really been rebuilding its rural communities. It is not something being done outside of Ireland. It is being done by Ireland itself, with the help of the credit of the great Empire.

What the British Government has been doing for the upbuilding of the farms of Ireland there was every reason to believe it would do for the upbuilding of the cities of Ireland. Again, this would not mean that the Empire would build up the Irish cities itself, but that Ireland, using the credit of the Empire, would rebuild its own cities in its own way and under its own direction. Dublin would rebuild itself, Belfast would plan her development so far as needed; but in that rebuilding they would have the advantage of drawing on the credit of the Empire—at least, so we hoped. There seemed every prospect of success—and then the war broke out.

Of course this work of rebuilding could be done only very gradually. Just before the war began we opened a Civic Exhibition in Dublin. The idea was to put the question not only before the people of Ireland, but before Great Britain and others. It was an Exhibition of Civics rather than a civic exhibition, for it showed the great advance that had been made among the rural communities and the relative backwardness of the cities. We were to show what the rural communities had done, what the cities had done and what they had not done, what they could do, and what we hoped from the Government. This was planned and carried out. The exhibition, held in one of the great old disused barracks (completely renovated and adapted for this purpose), had just been opened a fortnight when war was declared. Nearly all the city and county authorities came to the opening, headed by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of Dublin in state, and it was an extraordinary success. In organizing we had the help of Mr. John Nolen, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, well known as a town-planner, who worked out the plans for this exhibition and helped to get all the different authorities to take an interest in it. It was the first time

the Government departments had shown their work. We thought all this would help, and it may later. In connection with this, Lord Aberdeen offered to award five hundred pounds for the best plan for a New Dublin, which would fit in with Dublin's beautiful situation, and in which the convenience of the working classes would be especially considered. We hoped that if some really good plan should be submitted it might be presented in such a way that it would appeal to the Irish people all over the world. We hoped to have such a plan that whatever was done for the rebuilding of the city in each year or in each decade would be done along that plan. It would give scope for individuals or for any voluntary societies to work along with the Government. The competitive plans have been presented, but the matter is being held in abeyance, as it would not be fair to have an adjudication at the present time. Mr. John Nolen, Professor Patrick Geddes, of Edinburgh, and the City Architect of Dublin are the three adjudicators. The competition is closed, but the prize has not been awarded and will not be until there is an opportunity for proper exhibition and publicity. Out of this has been formed the Civics Institute of Ireland, to direct this whole thing and try to focus public attention on it, when the time comes, as it surely will.

In the meanwhile everything of this sort has to be postponed on account of the war, and, owing to financial conditions, it is impossible to tell what money there will be. Fifteen hundred houses in Dublin have been condemned, but people are still living in them. There are, of course, a great many more that are most unwholesome, and over twelve thousand families of five or six members are living in single-room tenements.

In the exhibition we had a delightful section on child welfare. Dr. Anna Louise Strong, who is attached to the United States Children's Bureau assisted in the organization. We wanted to present the cause in that very striking pictorial way in which such things are done here in the United States. Miss Strong presented one of those posters showing the Titanic going down, and comparing it with the number of infants whose deaths are preventable, but not so dramatic. We cannot prevent the deaths on the battlefield. All the women are pressing forward nobly to serve in every way in the war—as nurses, etc.—but a good many could help in saving the babies in the next street.

At the bottom of this problem of housing in Dublin is the nature of the employment of the men in that city. The main support of the people in that city is casual employment, and the wages are low. Mr. D. A. Chart, in a paper read before the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland, said:

In Dublin the average wage paid is about 18 shillings [\$4.50] a week, and even so low a figure as 15 shillings [\$3.75] or 16 shillings [\$4] has been recorded. Where wages are apparently higher than this 18 shillings figure, it will usually be found that some new factor has entered into the problem—for instance, the question of trust or responsibility, or again irregularity of employment due to various causes. . . . It seems fair to take 18 shillings as the usual remuneration, and to describe the conditions as they exist on that basis, remembering always that the description must be taken as applying to at least a quarter of our total population.

We must begin the study by assuming that marriage is the normal state of man, and that, once youth is passed, celibacy will be the exception rather than the rule. . . . The girl of the working-class districts in the center of Dublin is the mother of a household at an age when the girl of the suburbs is engaging in nothing more serious than tennis or term examinations. . . .

In the first place, it will be seen that not much can be set aside from the domestic budget for the item of housing expenses. The receiver of 18 shillings [\$4.50] a week cannot afford to pay more than 2 shillings 6 pence [67 cents] to 3 shillings [75 cents] a week for the rent of his dwelling. Now, the plain fact of the matter is that decent accommodation fit for the inhabitation of a family cannot be commercially supplied for this figure. . . . The laboring man, therefore, in Dublin is driven to adopt the same policy with housing as with other necessities of life, the adaptation to his own use of the second-hand possessions discarded by his richer fellow-citizens. Instead of one family occupying a ten-roomed house there is a family *in every room*, each paying from 2 shillings to 3 shillings a week for its accommodation.

In the meantime, seeing that bigger schemes for housing are not practicable at present, all that can be done is by that sort of individual personal work (and this means much) which a voluntary association can do in helping the mothers under these conditions to save the children. All that can be done is by means of nurses—district or visiting nurses—and then the babies' clubs, which are practically what might be called infant welfare centers, including milk stations, schools, meals for children, provision for medical care

and dental care. The latter is one of the things that are urgently needed in Ireland. A number of young men have been rejected for the army on account of defective teeth. Then there are the playgrounds, which we lay great stress on, and the open spaces in the city. The people do respond so wonderfully, even when there is no other help being given.

One means of carrying on this work is by spreading information as to hygienic conditions and the way to maintain health. We are told to economize, economize, economize; but what does this economy mean? We teach the mothers about food. The mothers are very, very keen about it, and, with the help of the babies' clubs and the nurses, they try hard to carry out the advice under difficult circumstances.

The goodness, the heroism, of the Dublin mothers is beyond words, although this is not the general impression. Dublin is often spoken of as "dear, dirty Dublin." That gives an impression quite unfair. Mothers work under severe difficulties. One tap in the back yard may furnish the only water supply for ever so many families. I have it on the authority of doctors who have carried on voluntary medical inspection, and also from the nurses, that, if you would compare the real cleanliness among children in Dublin with the same classes in other cities, it is in favor of Dublin. At the Civic Exhibition we had a demonstration of medical inspection and examined any children who were presented. Our lady doctor, who has extensive experience, had charge of it, and her report brought out the fact that the level of cleanliness was higher in Dublin than in other cities among this class of poor children, and that in spite of great difficulties. The standard of morality is very high, considering the congested condition of living. Then there is the kindness to one another—the way all help to bring a family through at a tight time. They will deny themselves in order to help others, as, for instance, in supplying milk for a neighbor's sick child. It is all these characteristics which make this work so hopeful and so necessary.

In one sense, we may say that, there is enough public machinery to do this work; there are medical dispensaries in Ireland to which anybody can go—at least, they can, nominally, on paper; but the people dislike to have anything to do with what appears to be connected with the Poor Law. It makes the work of the Association, therefore, which

is being done through these nurses and workers, easy, as it is not offered in a patronizing spirit. This work is really removing the artificial obstacles that are now in the way of people who, in spite of those obstacles, are really doing wonderfully.

The Central Association undertook various expenses in order to provide sanatoria under the Insurance Act. The Insurance Act provides for the care of the sick, furnishes a certain allowance for them, and makes provision whereby in certain diseases there can be special arrangements made for help. Tuberculosis was the first disease to be provided for. Therefore anybody suffering from tuberculosis could have sanatorium benefit if the insurance committees recommended it. There is an insurance committee in every county, and the patients must have the recommendation of this committee. It was thought that it was promised to everybody, but each individual case has to be passed on and each insurance committee has to consider what can be done. There was a grant given for the erection of sanatoria, the local authorities to erect them. But there was very little accommodation available. Accordingly the Association was allowed a grant to put up emergency sanatoria, and then, to meet the need of the public, it undertook to erect further pavilions. It counted on the continuance of what had been proved to be possible in the past, and therefore made contracts for the erection of certain buildings on the plan of deferred payments. And then the war came and cut off what the Association had every reason to expect would continue—namely, voluntary contributions from England and Scotland as well as Ireland.

Under the law which regulates incorporated societies the Association, if it does not meet its obligations within a certain time, can be wound up on petition. Sad to say, some people want to break it up; they say they must have their money at once. Each member of the Association becomes liable for a small sum if it is wound up. All this makes the present exigency especially acute, as it would mean stopping the work of the branches all over Ireland.

The Outlook asks me to tell what can be done in America to help.

Friends in America can help us to discharge these liabilities; but it is not only a matter of discharging liabilities. The children's sanatorium is standing there empty; it could be opened at once if we were free;

it is the same with other institutions for which we are responsible. If we could raise \$60,000, that would save the work from wreck, but in order really to make it effective we need \$100,000. It would not go to smash if we had \$60,000, but to be able to steam ahead we require \$100,000. We are proud to be able to quote the high authority of Dr. Hermann Biggs, Health Commissioner for the State of New York, who says that, after inspecting our work personally, he considers that more important results were being obtained with the money expended than had ever been the case in his experience elsewhere. We should like just as much more for maintenance as we can get.¹ We have been wanting to help the crippled children who are suffering from tuberculosis and who need surgical attention. Many children are suffering from it, and this disease could be cured if we had the proper facilities. Ninety per cent are cured in England, just as they are cured here in America. It is a perpetual heartbreak for our visitors to see these children in their own homes. Ordinary hospitals cannot deal with this on account of the prolonged treatment necessary. With inadequate facilities it is often made worse. We have a splendid site, and we thought we had the hospital in view, through the kindness of

certain friends. We were able to buy the site, we trained a doctor for this highly specialist work, and we had good reason to count on the building. Now here are children waiting for this special treatment, growing up to be a burden to their families and to the state because they cannot get it. This is just one instance to indicate that what is needed is money.

Then the Irish girls and the Irish boys here in America who have relatives at home can not only help in contributing money, but can cut out from magazines, etc., and send home some of those bright and attractive articles on health, on home management, on the care of babies, on housekeeping, on the necessity of having good water, on the care of milk and food, and on everything that pertains to health and good living.

The people over there think a great deal of what you do here, and if their boys and girls in America tell them of the good this kind of work accomplishes they will support similar movements there, and thus great progress will be made. Already some clubs have been formed among Irish girls for this purpose, which they call by the old Irish word *slainté*, which means "good health." I trust there will be many more, for this kind of support will tell more than any other methods.

THE READER'S VIEW

DO BIRDS NEED "PROHIBITION"?

In reading a recent copy of *The Outlook* I was attracted, on the "By the Way" page, by the question, "Do woodpeckers get drunk?" and of course was interested in the opinions expressed by well-known naturalists. During the greater part of five years my home has been in Florida, and I have watched with interest the habits and ways of the birds and of the animals that daily come within my ken. Part of our house is shaded by a beautiful "chinaberry tree," as it is called here—it is also known elsewhere as the "pride of India." It grows clusters of green berries, which when mature are as large as medium-sized cherries. They have quite a large seed or pit covered with a meaty substance which when ripe ferments, and then is eaten by the birds and squirrels. I have seen a beautiful redbird, or cardinal, tottering around the ground under the tree, quite in the

manner of the *genus homo* when intoxicated. I have also seen a squirrel holding a berry between his fore paws, eating with great gusto the pulp of the berry until the seed was quite clean. After feasting on a number of the berries he would seem quite "under the influence" and unable to perambulate, so would drowsily stretch himself at full length on the branch where he had been sitting, and, clasping his little feet around it, sleep for an hour or two, perhaps longer, and then, aroused by something, perhaps the scolding of a blue jay, would lift his little head, look around thoughtfully, cautiously descend to the ground, and scamper away to his home to recover fully from his little spree.

Maitland, Florida.

ANNIE M. CLARK.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES AND TRUE AMERICANISM

I notice in your issue of November 24 an editorial based upon a communication received from a German-American correspondent, deprecating the fact that the University of Wisconsin has seen fit to issue an announcement of its work in other than the English language.

The facts with reference to this matter are

¹Contributions to the fund may be sent either to Lady Aberdeen at Room 617, 105 East Twenty-second Street, New York; or to Mr. J. C. Heyer, Federal Trust Company, Boston, Massachusetts; or to Mr. Archibald Kains, Federal Reserve Bank, San Francisco, California, marked "For the Women's National Health Association of Ireland."

these: The Dairy School circular, which is the official announcement of the College of Agriculture with reference to this vocational course of study, is issued only in the English language. We have, however, a considerable number of papers in the State of Wisconsin which are published in the German language, and a brief mimeographed announcement of the fact that this circular was available upon application was written by one of our German-Swiss cheese instructors, and sent through our editorial office to the papers in the State which are published in German. This has been done for years with the express purpose of spreading more widely information among the subscribers of the German press that such a course is given. Although the great majority of these people talk English, many of them take newspapers printed in German, and no doubt many are reached in this way who might not see agricultural journals which are published in English.

This type of publicity does not replace efforts to disseminate as widely as possible information in English; but when you realize that sixty-six per cent of the population of this State is of foreign extraction, over one-half of which is German, and that in many communities the native language of these foreigners is yet commonly used, although the public schools without exception use the English language, it would seem to be apparent that announcements can be made with propriety in these foreign papers in the language in which they are published.

Since, however, you have raised this subject, I want to state that, while the University does not publish its bulletins and reports in a foreign language, we are in entire sympathy with the effort of the State to reach intending settlers with authentic publications that are printed in the language of the race for whom they are intended. I am sending you for your inspection several bulletins which are published in foreign languages. The original bulletin, No. 196 of the Experiment Station, published by the University, was printed exclusively in English, but the importance of this communication to intending settlers was such that the State Board of Immigration, with our consent and approval, republished this pamphlet in Finnish, Polish, Bohemian, and German, with the express purpose in view of thereby reaching and influencing a larger constituency of these foreign classes than could possibly have been done through a restriction of the publication to the English language.

We believe we can best secure the amalgamation of these foreign immigrants by first reaching them, if necessary, through their own tongue, and thus permit them to become established on our soil. If our appeal were made to them in a tongue which they could not understand, it would produce no returns whatever. They soon be-

come hyphenated Americans, but we know we reach them first through the fact that the subject-matter was presented to them in a language which they could understand. We are not afraid of the hyphenated American, for our experience with the settlers in the cut-over forests of northern Wisconsin is that the hyphen and what goes before it sooner or later drop out and they are as loyal to the land of their adoption as some of us whose pedigree goes back to New England and the East.

H. L. RUSSELL.

The University of Wisconsin College of Agriculture and Agricultural Experiment Station, Madison, Wisconsin.

[The editorial referred to in this letter was not intended as a criticism of the Americanism of the University of Wisconsin; nor was its text the undesirability of recognizing the fact that any other than the English language is a channel of communication in reaching a considerable number of people in this country. We published the communication which Dean Russell refers to because it seemed to us to be a striking indication of the loyalty of the great bulk of those American citizens who are of German antecedents. The noteworthy fact was not that the circular was printed in German, but that the protest should come from an American of German origin. We are glad to have this opportunity of presenting Dean Russell's views to our readers.—THE EDITORS.]

THE GORE RESOLUTION

Here is the touchstone, viz., Would not such action by our Government as was proposed by the original Gore resolution be a breach of our neutrality?

What right have we as a neutral to alter a long existing condition and course of business to the detriment of one of the belligerents and advantage of the other?

Said existing condition and course of business are the customary, often necessary, travel of Americans on English ships.

Said detriment consists in withdrawing the deterrent effect as against the murder of English people, which restraint would be involved by the presence of Americans.

Said restraint would result from inability of the Germans to separate a violation of international law against the English from a violation of international law against the Americans.

If, then, the long-existent, ante-bellum, customary, and usual condition is that the intended victim is in our house, have we right, moral or legal, to thrust him out to be murdered?

Are we not legally, as well as morally, bound to do nothing while war exists that manifestly must operate to the weakening of the restraints of international law? HARRY CALDWELL.

St. Paul, Minnesota.

BY THE WAY

"The first letter in the word Outlook on your cover page is in red," a genial friend observes, and offers this suggestion: "Put the last letter, k, in red also, and then The Outlook will obviously be O. K.—which same the March number is." Thank you!

A curious result of the "jacking up" which all departments of the British Government have experienced as a result of the war has been the final abolition of the quill pen in Government service. An English correspondent of "Office Appliances" says that these relics of mediævalism had hung on in certain leisurely places, but at last they have had to go, to make place for the more businesslike metal pen.

The chestnut blight has swept into nineteen States, according to a report of the Office of Forest Pathology, and done damage estimated at \$50,000,000. To take the place of these blighted chestnut trees a cross between the Japan chestnut and our native chinquapin is proposed. This is said to bear nuts of excellent quality.

A Chicago man, an admirer of Bacon, has asserted that Shakespeare was a "faker." Another Chicago man has asked the courts for an injunction to restrain the party of the first part from "defaming" the Bard of Avon. So the Bacon-Shakespeare case may be settled judicially. If only Shakespeare—or Bacon—could attend the trial, what a merry "Comedy of Errors" Bacon—or Shakespeare—might again give to the world!

In his recent book, "Lights and Shadows in Confederate Prisons," Professor Homer D. Sprague quotes statistics as to the relative mortality in Northern and Southern military prisons during the Civil War, showing that of 270,000 Federal prisoners 22,576 died, while of 220,000 Confederate prisoners 26,436 died—a larger percentage of Confederates. He explains the discrepancy by saying that multitudes of Confederates were physically unfit when enrolled. But, if this is true, why did not the United States Government at once exchange them when taken prisoners? The common explanation for its refusal to exchange has been that it did not wish to give up its own well-conditioned prisoners for the emaciated wrecks of Andersonville, Salisbury, etc. If its own prisoners, however, were inferior physically and dying faster than the Confederates' prisoners, why the unwillingness to exchange? Here is a seeming mystery for some old soldier to explain.

Professor Sprague, though he suffered severely in Southern prisons, writes in a kindly spirit and tells many stories of friendly acts by Southern men and women toward Federal prisoners. In Greensboro, North Carolina, a train-load of Union prisoners was in dire straits. A

well-dressed young Southerner approached Colonel Sprague and asked, "Will you have a snack?" The word was a new one to the Northerner. "I don't know what you mean," he answered; "is it a *snake*? Yes, I could eat a copperhead—boiled. Snake for one, please—well done." The young man put his hand in a well-filled haversack, and took out and gave to Colonel Sprague the most delicious sandwich he had ever tasted; and then, seeing his enjoyment, emptied his satchel, giving away to the hungry prisoners all the food he had prepared for himself for a long trip over the mountains. Fifty years after, the Union soldier records this good deed with glowing gratitude.

George Niper, who died the other day at Stanhope, New Jersey, at the age of 108, worked at farming till he was ninety, then went into the ax-handle business; never wore glasses; never was ill till three days before he died; chewed tobacco for ninety-six years; and while born a few years too late to serve with Washington at Valley Forge, did the next best thing to tell about in his old age—voted for Andrew Jackson. Among his numerous descendants are eight great-great-grandchildren.

In a social group, when some one propounded the question, "What would you do with a million dollars?" this answer, a subscriber reports, received general approval: "I would found a Mothers' Institute in every city. Mothers and prospective mothers would obtain here, through lectures and individual talks by experts, the latest information as to 'twilight sleep,' pre-natal influences, physical care and moral training for babies, with demonstration work as to clothing, sanitation, etc. Rich and poor alike should find help and knowledge here; and those most unhappy mothers, unmarried women and penniless widows, would be heartened and encouraged in these Mothers' Institutes."

Treasure-trove for the literary hunter does turn up occasionally. Witness the new portrait of Edgar Allan Poe printed in the "Century" for April. It is from a daguerreotype that had been hidden away for more than half a century. The picture shows Poe with two friends who have not been certainly identified.

Nettles, according to a writer in the "Rural New-Yorker," have some claim to being called the only native plants which are really poisonous to the touch, for they injure practically every person who happens to touch them, while many persons are immune to the poison of other so-called poisonous plants. But may not nettles also be exempt from the aspersion, if a familiar rhyme is true:

"Tender-handed stroke a nettle,
And it stings you for your pains.
Seize it like a man of mettle,
And it soft as silk remains."